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भवद्वयकमलचित्रितपत्रेण तद्व  
 गीतसुबार्त्तयात्र मधुदया ॥ १४: संभूतः ॥  
 तदुत्तरदाने मधुदया ॥ १५: संभूतः ॥  
 यान्नावगादिलक्ष्मः संभूतः ॥ स वि  
 रः कार्यबाहुल्यमुद्रिय सुधी  
 भवता जनन्यः ॥ १६: संभूतः ॥  
 नतनियः ॥

**S.N. PANDITA**

शुद्धातिशयः ५ सि

The image shows a piece of aged, yellowed paper with handwritten text in Bengali script. A large, bold, red graphic with white outlines is superimposed over the center of the page, containing the words "OLOGISTS" and "SAVANTS OF" stacked vertically. The handwritten text on the paper includes phrases like "seems to have been some confusion," "Society of Bengal sent me copies for," "looks to me to be," "it has been," "I am sorry to hear that you were," "very well. He," and "ear that you were". There are also some numbers and dates visible, such as "1924" and "1907". The overall appearance is that of a historical document or a collection of notes.

am an Amer-  
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 to spend a month  
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 nells", which is moored just a  
 mile in the small inlet (not the main  
 one) addressed by mail, P. O. Portu-  
 gal. I came to see me or indicate  
 at which I could call on you.  
 Yours, very sincerely  
 Franklin Edgerton  
 S. S. Shastri  
 in Sri Pratap College  
 in 1924



Kashmir with its bewitching lakes, flowers, rivers, snow-capped mountains & ancient shrines and monuments tempted a large number of western travellers, officials and adventurers to write about its natural beauty and salubrious climate. These westerners wrote only about the physical charms of Kashmir. Evidently western perceptions of Kashmir during the eighteenth and until the middle of the nineteenth century was a lot about the body and very little about its soul. Such versions came from Vigne, Lawrence Younghusband, Neve and Miline. However, the lacuna was compensated by western scholars like Buhler, Stein, Grierson and many others. They gave us glimpses of treasures of Kashmir and its enormous contribution to Sanskrit language and literature besides to the very own language of Kashmir – the Kashmiri.

For the wealth of its own soul West wanted to know everything and exploit that lay within the range of their intellect. The curiosity and spirit of enquiry, this intellectual urge of the West was contagious and it was transmitted as a matter of fact to the Kashmiri Pandits also. For the latter it also became a great mental tonic and spiritual force to awaken and rejuvenate their intellectual sense. The greatest benefit the Pandits in Kashmir have received was the opportunity of an interface that occurred between pandit scholars and western indologists between 1875 and 1940 in assessing the rich wealth of Kashmiri language, history and literature.

This record, however, has remained abjectly an undocumented history so far. No account of this interface which took place under the patronage of Dogra rulers has ever been attempted earlier in any study which undoubtedly has considerable relevance in preserving cultural heritage of Kashmir besides its international importance.

It is against this background that the present research study based on freshly discovered materials has been undertaken by the author in a systematic manner. It unfolds so far unaccounted details of literary history of Kashmir.

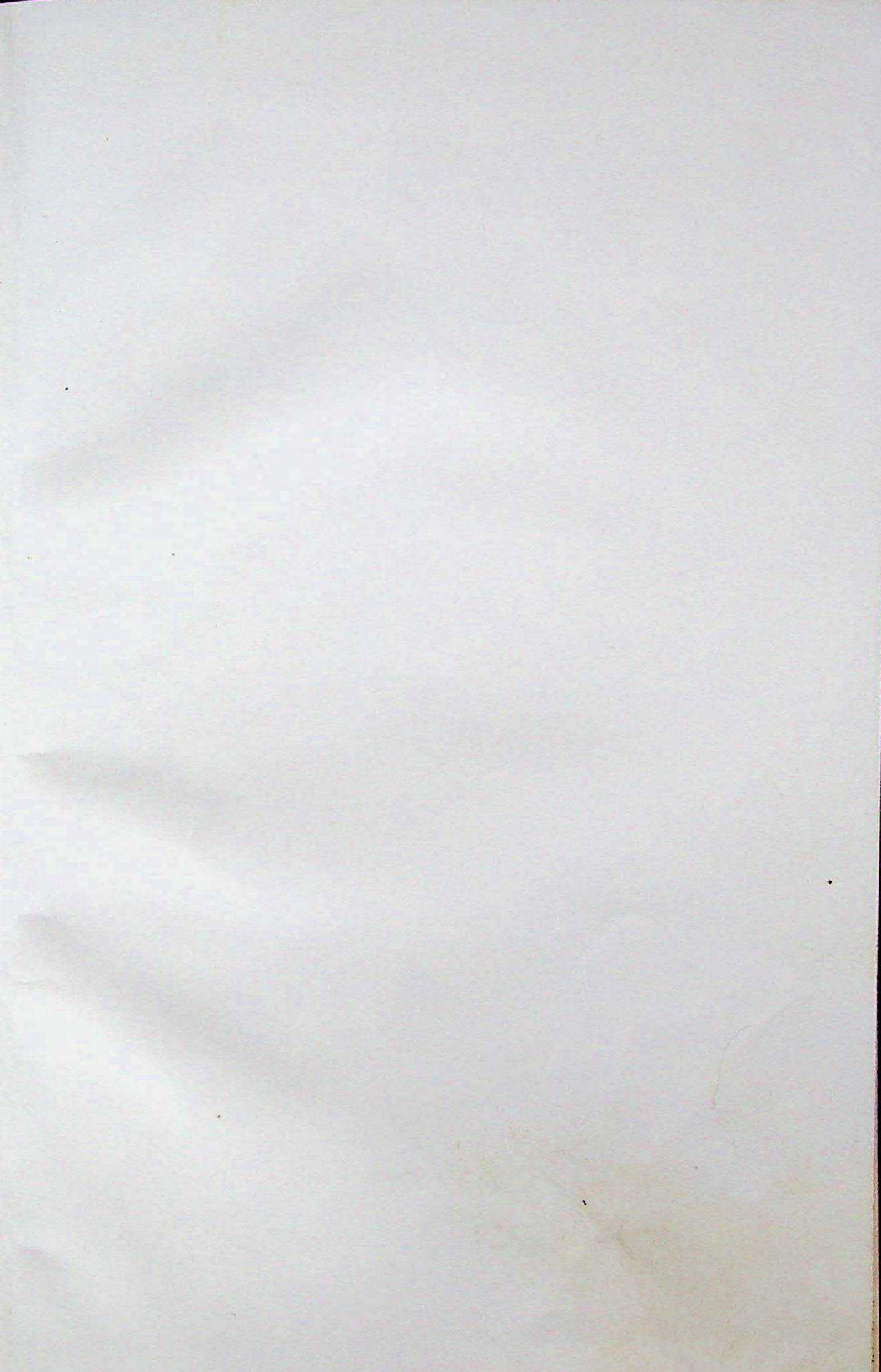
The study portrays Sir Aurel Stein, the great Hungarian Indologist and the greatest Western patron of Kashmiri Pandits, as the pivot of this interface and in turn establishes the Kashmiri scholar Professor Nityanand Shastri as the epicentre. The work also portrays a unique personal friendship that existed between Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Nityanand Shastri and Sir George Grierson and identifies them as the trio in the edifice of this interface.

The work is a record of unmapped history of Kashmir studies besides a well researched work of indological interest which can open into other areas of research on the subjects dealt therein. The work is a compilation of original references and records which can be useful to scholars and researchers for further investigation into the story of this interface.

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WESTERN INDOLOGISTS  
AND  
SANSKRIT SAVANTS OF KASHMIR



WESTERN INDOLOGISTS  
AND  
PARASITIC SAVANTS OF KASHMIR



# WESTERN INDOLOGISTS AND SANSKRIT SAVANTS OF KASHMIR

G.M. College of Education  
Raipur, Bantalab  
Jammu.

Acc. No. .... 5662 .....  
Dated. .... 18.5.03 .....

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G.M.C.E.J



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In their honour and as a mark of tribute

Dedicated to the memory of Sir William Jones, Professor Georg Buhler, Pandit Govind Kaul, Sir Aurel Stein, Sir George Grierson, Professor Nityanand Shastri, Dr. David Brainerd Spooner, Professor Sten Konow, Pandit Ishwar Kaul, Pandit Mukandram Shastri, Professor Jagadhar Zadoo, Sir John Marshall, Dr. A.H. Francke, Dr. Eugen Hultzsch, Dr. Johannes Hertel, Mr. Hinton Knowles, Dr. Lionel Barnett, Dr. K. de Vreese, Pandit Damodar, Pandit Sahaz Bhat, Professor Franklin Edgerton, Pandit Anand Kaul, Dr. A.W. Stratton, Mr. R. Hobarts, Professor James H. Woods, Dr. Carl Kellor, Professor J.Ph. Vogel, Professor Maurice Winternitz and Ms. Anna Stratton Booth and many more who remain still in anonymity and whose works on history, language and literature of Kashmir account for one of the glorious chapters of the interface between Western and Kashmiri scholars.







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"The labours I devoted between 1888 and 1900 to the critical edition, translation and commentary of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, the only true historical text of Sanskrit literature, afforded me ample opportunities of gaining close contact with the Sanskrit *savants* of Kashmir, the land where traditional learning of Hindu India had flourished in old times greatly and survived even until recent years."

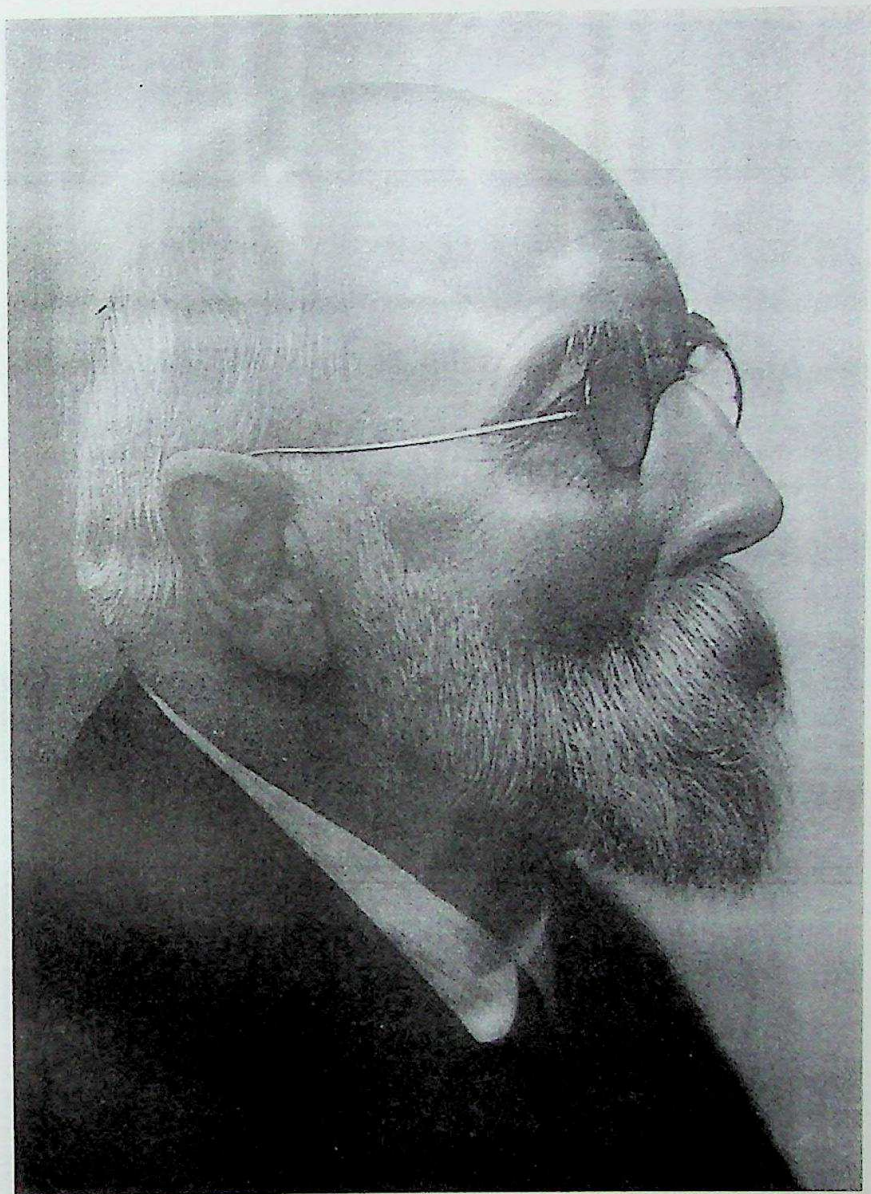
July 14, 1938

Sir Aurel Stein









*Sir George Abraham Grierson; b. January 7, 1851 d. March 7, 1941*









*Professor Nityanand Shastri; b. June 24, 1874 d. December 24, 1942*







*Sir Marc Aurel Stein; b. November 26, 1862 d. October 26, 1943*











*Dr. Naran Singh*  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



3, NYAYA MARG  
CHANAKYAPURI  
NEW DELHI - 110 021

## Foreword

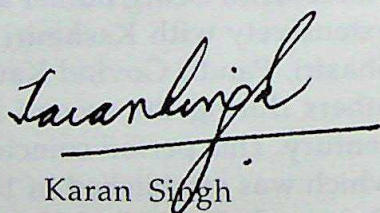
That Kashmir is one of the most beautiful places on earth is well known, and has been documented down through the centuries. It is also well established that in ancient times Kashmir was a great seat of learning, so much so that it was looked upon as the abode of Sri Sharada – the Goddess of learning – herself. *Namaste Shârade Devi Kâshmir Puravâsini* is a well known prayer, and students at Varanasi were instructed to take three steps to the North after completing their education to symbolize a visit to Shâradâ Peetham.

However, it is less well known that even in recent times Kashmir produced great scholars, and that there was a vibrant and mutually supportive interaction between them and some of the world's greatest indologists. Led by the great indologist Sir William Jones, who himself did not visit Kashmir, legendary scholars such as George Grierson, Aurel Stein, Georg Buhler and Rudolph von Roth interacted extensively with Kashmiri scholars like Pandit Nityanand Shastri, Pandit Govind Kaul, Shri Mukandram Shastri and others during the second half of the 19th and early 20th century. This period coincided with Dogra rule in Kashmir which was established in 1846, and it is to the credit of the Dogra rulers, particularly Maharaja Ranbir Singh – himself a great scholar and temple builder – that they encouraged and supported this interaction. Stein's translation of the *Rajatarangini* and preparation of the catalogue of the manuscript library in the Sri Raghunath Temple, Jammu, are among the outstanding achievements of that era.



I congratulate Shri S.N. Pandita for having done extensive research on this lesser known area of indological studies, and for having produced a significant work describing and documenting this period. I am sure his book will encourage scholars in India and abroad to further pursue this important field of research. As a descendent of the Dogra dynasty, I am particularly proud of the role that my ancestors played in this sphere. In my own way I have tried to maintain this tradition by upgrading the Raghunath Pathshala to the level of a college, and taking steps to extend and upgrade the facilities at the Sri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute in the Raghunath Temple, Jammu, which houses the famous manuscript library that figures so prominently in this book.

Over the last twelve years an unprecedented tragedy has overtaken the industrious and talented Kashmiri Pandit community. The growth of communal violence and militancy has caused almost the entire community en masse to migrate from the valley. Tens of thousands now eke out an unhappy existence in refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi. One can only pray to the Goddess Sharada to once again bestow her blessings on that beautiful valley, where people of all faiths and denomination lived in harmony for centuries.



Karan Singh

August 15, 2002



## Preface

It was in the mid sixties of the last century that I first acquainted myself with the name of my grandfather Professor Nityanand Shastri, who had departed from the world of living more than two decades earlier. While the family observed his birth and death anniversaries, not much transpired in their conversation about his scholarly attainments. Whatever little transpired, would indicate that his life was devoted to pursuits academic in nature. Separately I would approach my father Gopinath, to know from him, more of Nityanand's life. It was he who gave me the first insights into the life and works of my grandfather.

My father had a short synonymous statement to explain the life and works of Nityanand Shastri by saying, "he was a scholar". Gradually the name Nityanand weaved its spell of magic on my impressionable age. While I was still a young boy, it was from my father that I learnt about the close association Nityanand Shastri had with European indologists like Sir Aurel Stein, Sir George Grierson and Prof. J.Ph. Vogel to name only a few, amongst many others. My father also would narrate to me events of Nityanand's early life and people around him. All this information had a personal authenticity for me as it came to me from the mouth of my parent who departed from this world in February 1978.

Years passed by and little was talked about Nityanand Shastri within the family except on occasions my mother Shobawati would confirm the gross details of what my father had earlier told me about Nityanand Shastri. I recall from the abyss of my memory that my grandfather had a personal library consisting of large collection of books and



manuscripts, and consider myself fortunate to have seen this collection as a young boy but regret that I could never know the qualitative content of the treasure. Unfortunately subsequent happenings too led to its practical abandonment. While the vagaries of time, weather and human vandalism consumed this collection, I regret to say that most of it is lost now for good, with none to take the blame.

The present study, account of which is described in the following pages, has essentially been developed from the references and fragmentary details contained in scanty and assorted contents of correspondence, memoir papers, historical and other personal documents that made only a minuscule part of my grandfather's library and which had been inherited by my father and later after his death, came to me as his legacy. In the course of time, as I went through the precious treasure it was confirmed to me with complete authenticity what my father had told me as a young boy about Nityanand Shastri.

Over the period, these materials fascinated my imagination and all through these years I have retained the collection as most precious possession of my father's legacy. I carried it with me wherever I went during the last two decades, never leaving it behind to anybody's care. Its mere possession gradually kindled a desire in me to utilize it for a study whose dreams lifted my yearnings that have finally shaped in the form of present work.

I have no hesitation to share with my readers that I was not destined for an academic career but nevertheless I may be modest, if I do not claim an allowance of consideration for my interest in academic pursuits testified by present work. A considerable study of these assorted documents brought one thing to the fore that a number of eminent Kashmiri scholars spanning a period of more than six decades from 1875 to 1938 were associated with Western scholars studying literature, language and history of



Kashmir.

The patronage successive Dogra kings of Jammu and Kashmir lent to scholarship, enabled Kashmiris to write a glorious record of indological studies in Kashmir during the 19th and 20th centuries. Perhaps there are few equivalent parallels in the contemporary history of India about the patronage successive rulers of the Royal dynasty accorded to scholarship and spread of learning and education as the Dogra dynasty did to promote Kashmiri and Western scholarship. Yet, but surprisingly so, literary historians have been silent so far on this record of history of Jammu and Kashmir during the Dogra rule.

The exodus of Pandits from Kashmir in 1990 further necessitated a desirability that a study about interface between Kashmiri and Western scholars was of considerable relevance in preserving the cultural heritage of Kashmiri Pandits. I have shared the opinion on the merit of such study with many people, but for whose most valuable help and encouragement, this study could have never taken its present form. Subsequently, I realized that any delay or abandonment of the study would deprive a future student of new details and information on aspects of Kashmir's literary legacy, whose account it has been possible to construct in fresh light from these materials.

I also realized that failure to attempt such a study would result in a kind of a personal guilt as it would tantamount to a denial to posterity of details particularly of many aspects that now have been brought to light for the first time since their details are drawn from a source that had so far remained in neglect and abandonment. More important reason for this study came from the fact that this retrieved collection was full of information on subjects which till now had not attracted the attention of literary historians of Kashmir.

It would be evident to readers that sometimes the information contained in these letters and papers is specific



and well detailed, yet on many an occasion scanty and referral only. However, the references give enough clues to the subject matter or about the scholar whether Kashmiri or Western. From these materials it was clear that hardly any account or details of such history was available in any publication that have come out during last seven decades.

Answers to such omissions may be accounted for by future literary historians, if these are of some overriding nature and until such time, I am inclined to attribute the omissions to the fact that these materials went unnoticed by scholars as they had remained in conditions of neglect and abandonment. It may be mentioned that the letters and the documents that were exchanged by many Western indologists and my grandfather for about four decades between 1900 to 1938 make the essential nucleus around which the whole subject of the present study took shape and the contours of work were conceived by me, but what gave the study the present scope and overall dimension to show that many Kashmiri Pandit scholars had worked jointly with Western scholars became possible when I referred to the basic works and thus constructed a historical account of interface between Kashmiri Pandits and Western scholars that I hope may be considered as a small addition to the literary legacy of Kashmir of which the Pandits are so proud.

As the reader will proceed with development of the present study, it will become clear to him that contributions of Kashmiri scholars in these joint studies have been duly acknowledged by their Western counterparts. Perhaps it may not be an exaggeration if it is stated that with such pioneering contributions to Kashmir studies, the Western scholars have attained their world acclaim and renown but yet sadly a virtual non mention by literary historians about the contributions made by Kashmiri scholars in these joint studies have unfortunately pushed them into the oblivion even though being equal partners to such glory.



It is well known that the literary works connected to Kashmir, on which the Western scholars have spent such a fruitful phase of their scholarly pursuits, has placed them in the hall of fame. The present work in the hands of readers will show that Kashmiri scholars stand as equals to their Western counterparts and no hesitation should handicap the appreciation that they deserve for their erudition and scholarship.

As already indicated the materials used in the present study are about a century old and the works to which these refer too are almost of the same time. Their availability posed a considerable problem. The printed versions of these works were not easily available and in such circumstances a considerable effort was put, regardless of time it took to locate these across in India and abroad. The effort difficult and time-consuming was nevertheless a satisfying pursuit for me. It was from such sources and references together with the help of materials from my grandfather's collection, I was able to construct the format of the study in its present form.

The letters, correspondence, notes and other related papers are assorted. These are sometime in context but on occasions disjointed with scanty information and only when original works were referred to, it was possible to develop the context of the present study bringing to light aspects which until now have escaped the attention of literary historians and thus remained unmapped.

As the materials used in the present study consist of mainly letters written by many Western indologists to my grandfather, these give from their contents, evidence that they were replied by him and as the replies were addressed to many scholars stationed far and wide across the globe, it has not been possible for me to trace these in verbatim to build the account of interface in a subjective manner. In the absence of their availability, I have endeavoured to construct them referentially in the context of analysis made



only of the letters written by Western scholars. It is thus for a future student to make further researches in retrieving these for enriching and improving the scope of the subject dealt in the present work.

I record my deep gratitude for the large help I got from Professor K.V. Madhusudan, former Head, Department of Sanskrit, Osmania University, Hyderabad, who at my request made excellent translation of twenty four Sanskrit letters into English enabling me to overcome my shortcomings in Sanskrit that had initially confronted me to assess the contents of these letters in developing the present study. The remarkable and scholarly task completed by him deserves praise and my sincere personal thanks too.

I am grateful to Mr. P. Naskar of Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta, through whom I purchased the last available copies of Kashmiri vernacular texts published under Bibliotheca series that were available with the Society and thus enabled me to develop historical account of these important works piecing evidence from the materials of my grandfather's collection.

The collection as stated earlier came into my possession as my father's legacy, mention must be made of the few additions I made to it that occurred subsequently. My late uncle Mr. J.N. Pandita gave me the letter written by Ernest Hall along with the accompanying paper by Sir George Grierson. Handing over these papers to me, he said, "You can keep these papers for your use and study. You deserve to be their best retainer." I owe my grateful debt to his benevolence and magnanimity for parting these for my study in spite of any personal attachment he might have to possess the same as memorabilia of his father. I record my sincere thanks to my aunt Mrs. Kamla Shankar who likewise gave me a few folia of fragmentary photographic manuscript copy of Don Quixote in Kashmiri. Her gesture deserves high appreciation from all who may



have interest in this study.

It has eluded my hard and sincere efforts to locate more detailed references connected to '*The Language of Mahanayaprakasa*' by George Grierson and Nityanand Shastri and the edited version of Kashmiri Mahabharata by Maurice Winternitz published in Prague, Poona and Calcutta. Also my search yielded no positive results in finding a copy of '*Letters from India*', a work published in London which contains account of large number of letters exchanged by many Kashmiri scholars with Dr. A.W. Stratton. As a result of these, some omissions may have occurred in the present work. Perhaps equally disappointing has been my search to trace even a single copy of 1924 Lahore edition of *Nilamatapurana* by Professors J.D. Zadoo and R.L. Kanjilal.

The much needed reference support for my study, varied in context, was essentially to be located in archives, museums and rare sections of libraries. A rich reference of these old works were made available to me by the authorities of Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi. I record my sincere thanks to the authorities of this library for their immense help.

I also owe my sincere thanks to Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai, retired Professor and former Head, Sanskrit Department of the Jammu University for her kindness in encouraging me to pursue my study, when on an earlier occasion many years ago I met her to gather information connected with the editions of *Nilamatapurana* published prior to her own thesis on the Kashmiri text. The information she provided was quite rewarding for my researches on the subject.

My work carried me to important centres of indological storehouses across the country. Of the centres visited by me in the course of my study, a special mention must be made about Sri Maharaja Ranbir Singh Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu and The Oriental Institute Museum Library, Mysore. At both these centres I availed myself of many a



rare references connected to my work. I record my deep gratitude to both, the Incharge Head Pandit of the Jammu Library and Dr. V. Ramesh, Director, Oriental Institute, Mysore for their kind help in making my visits fruitful on account of the task that was on hand.

Even though the materials on which the present study is based were accessible for analysis and evaluation to me for quite some time and some previous opportunity or circumstance could have been utilized by me to complete the study earlier, the delay has been caused owing to my late calling to pursue a more satisfying work. I share with my readers that I have spent the more energetic years of my life in sticking to mundane livelihood. Now that the bondage is snapped and while I enjoy the freedom that creative work offers, I seek unqualified apology from both scholars and students of the subject in particular and readers of the present work in general for delay in placing this volume before them.

I must mention that my journey from bondage to liberation could not have taken place but for the constant support and encouragement I received from my wife Veena Bhat who showed a remarkable tolerance to my pursuits that went into the making of this volume, while allowing these least to cause any damage to our social and married life. Her constant support in revising the manuscript and other help one needs in successful completion of such task deserves my sincere appreciation and thanks in more than one way, but for which the task would have never been completed. Despite suffering from painful bouts due to an ailment, she never allowed any situation to slip in that would have caused a delay in the progress of this work. It is in regard to this condition, I express my sincere thanks to Prof. G.G. Mansharamani, former Director and Head, Department of Medicine, Maulana Azad Medical College, New Delhi, Dr. Narender M. Tikoo of Apollo Hospital, New Delhi and Dr. Sarabjit Singh of the Department of Surgery,



Medical College, Jammu, for the medical attention and treatment they gave to my wife and thus have contributed to the successful culmination of this work.

I gratefully record my sincere gratitude to Padmashree Shri D.N. Malhotra, Chairman & Managing Director, Hind Pocket Books and Dr. H.K. Kaul, Director DelNet, New Delhi for giving practical guidance on many a matter pertaining to this work. Their timely and encouraging help lessened the burden of my anxiety often associated with the hope of success in such matters. I also thank my brother Mr. S.K. Pandita and my sister Ms. Sabita Pandita for their support in the completion of this task. They shared all the joys and tribulations connected with this work. The publication of this book would have been impossible without the amanuensian support rendered to me by Ms. Sabita Pandita. She assisted me in carrying out the task of proof-reading and thereby has contributed in no small degree to render this work less imperfect.

Institutions and individuals have sustained me physically and spiritually. It is a pleasure to look back and with a sense of accomplishment, express my gratitude to all. Individuals, some friends of long standing, some newly made along way at different times and in different ways have become part of the book. I owe much to my staunch friend Mr. Lokesh Tikku of Jakarta, Indonesia. It may not be possible for me to name all in these brief pages, but I record my extreme gratefulness to all others who in one way or the other have contributed to the culmination of this work.

As the author of this work, I would fail in my paramount obligation if a mention is not made of the people whose scholarly help and unstinted guiding support in the end made this work pass through the press. Their very special role from concept to culmination of this work makes their mention very essential. To Mr. C.V. Gopinath, my *Guru* from whose pure and high intellectual qualities I have



drawn immeasurable help, I can never repay the heavy debt of gratitude I owe him. Blessed with good qualities, of head and heart and immense compassion, Mr. C.V. Gopinath guided me from time to time in the course of my present study. It is on account of his abiding influence that present work became a reality. Imbued with deep love for scriptures, his knowledge of Vedic literature and the sacred language of Sanskrit make Mr. C.V. Gopinath an erudite scholar by any reckoning. Known today as a friend of Kashmiri Pandit community, Mr. C.V. Gopinath has won hearts of Pandits by his deep concern for their welfare in the present time of their distress due to exodus. The successful completion of this work is a humble *gurudakshina* I offer to him, which I pray, he accepts as a token of my regard and respect and Pandit community's appreciation for his remarkable sense of concern to espouse their cause.

I express my gratitude to Shri M.L. Pandit whose commitment with vision to preserve and promote Kashmir's cultural heritage and legacy remains unparalleled. He has been the soul of my study and who has at every stage, while the work was progressing, been a guide and abiding force of encouragement. There is no aspect of this work on which I did not take his considered advice. A gentleman of great resilience and fortitude, whose own work during the last decade in promoting Pandit cultural legacy has given him a place of honour in the Pandit community, I record my grateful and sincere thanks to him.

I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor K.K. Bhat of Jammu with whom I have throughout shared the plan and progress of this study. His constant advice and guidance in giving the shape to this work in which it appears now, is ample proof of his brilliant makeup. I shall ever remain obliged to him for sparing his valuable time in giving advice on many matters connected with this work.

I also owe my gratitude to Mr. P.N. Kachru, an eminent



painter and scholar, for throughout supporting this study. It is on umpteen occasions, I took his valuable advice on aspects that needed clarification in order to arrive at proper perspective in analyzing the materials of this study. Never did he give me an impression that I was ever infringing on his scarce time and plentiful resource of scholarship amidst his occupation with his own scholarly pursuits of other nature.

A very special mention must be made about the initial guidance in executing the present study, I received from Professor K. Warikoo of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. I owe that excellent scholar my sincere thanks and admiration. My thanks are also due to Dr. Ayushman Bhat of Jammu and his eminent physician father, Dr. R.N. Bhat. I record my sincere thanks to Professor R.N.K. Bamzaei of the Department of Life Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; his wife Dr. Geeta Bamzaei of National Institute of Family Planning, New Delhi; Prof. S. Bhatt, Honorary Professor of Space Law & Environment at Jamia Hamdard University, New Delhi and Mr. Shiv Nath Hundoo, an eminent scholar of Kashmiri folk literature in making valuable suggestions on many varied aspects of the present study. Their supportive and friendly encouragement deserves my grateful and sincere compliment.

I record with deepest sense my gratitude to Mr. Arun Raj Malhotra and Mr. Siddharth Raj Malhotra of Siddharth Publications, New Delhi for publishing this work. The immense help I received from Mr. Satish Agrawal in making the final manuscript ready for press deserves my grateful acknowledgment. I record my sincere thanks to Mr. Chetan Agrawal for his help and able assistance in typing out the manuscript and feeding the same on to the computer hard disk thus facilitating final presentation of the book.

However as my work progressed in the course of my study, it was always my little daughter Apeksha with whom



I shared the joy and excitement of fulfilling labour on day to day basis. Her ample patience at her very young age to understand the seriousness of attention the task at hand demanded, now gives me some idea of her maturity. While I could not fondle and cajole her with parental pranks as often her tender age deserved and that she with least complaint put up with the constraints of my time, I can but conclude that my and her soul must have communicated at subtle levels in seeing the work through.

It is with these facts and circumstances I place the complete work in the hands of readers to judge its relevance without in the least laying any claim to merit in this regard. If the work is considered worth for the preservation of Kashmir's rich literary history, I will be glad to have earned my reward and it is to such a feeling I owe the relief that satisfaction from the completion of this work has given me. Also that whatever account it has been possible for me to construct in the present work may be of some help for further study on the subject gives me some more satisfaction that my own efforts may not be considered completely unrewarding.

However, much my honest attempt to keep the shortcomings and omissions to reasonable minimum, the completed work yet may be showing many. To understand that is, I hope to forgive. Without any pretended modesty I confess that no one is more than myself aware of the deficiencies of this work. Such as it is, I bid adieu sure of sympathy with my mistakes and of appreciation of that in it is worthy on the part of readers who are competent to put its merits and defects to test.

June 2, 2002  
Sarojini Nagar  
New Delhi

S.N. Pandita



## Early Stirrings, Depth and Focus

So said Pandit Anand Kaul, a pioneer of modern research in the history and folklore of Kashmir, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, "Kashmir, the home of Kashmiri Pandits, is linked with history full of the misty past infinitely remote. They are among the few races whose traditions run back to gods and divine origin of things. The happy valley of Kashmir is a land of vistas, so lavish in its prospect and surpassing interest and beauty, a land where wonderful contrast and amazing variety can be seen, a land of the utmost miracles of bountiful nature. This marvelous and magnificent 'Paradise of world', this splendid haunt of security and joy which no words can reproduce, in which one may see as much poetic beauty as any man has right to look for, is the home of Brahmins".

A generation earlier towards the third quarter of the nineteenth century Pandit Damodar, one of the most learned Sanskrit scholars of modern times in Kashmir in a fine Sanskrit verse said, "Here gods live resplendent, gratifying their desires, the climate is delightful. Here all the senses are gratified and enjoy peace. Feats of things worth searching after, together with riches are obtainable, the inhabitants are learned. Such being the country of Kashmir, does it not excel the beauty of the heaven of Indra".

Perhaps, nothing may excel the expressions of these two worthy natives of Kashmir about the genre of Pandits and their habitat. Even though what they have said is recent, it is perhaps the appreciation of their expression that has echoed centuries earlier to attract the attention of the western world. As the import of Indian mysticism influenced western mind, it laid by and by the edifice of



orientalism and eastern wisdom. It becomes then important to trace the history of western scholarship and assessment of traditional Kashmir works of art, language, literature, philosophy and religion. Ancient Kashmir, which has been a place of great and high learning, provides for amongst the most purple patches of literary and cultural mosaic of India.

Tracing interest of western scholars in assessing Kashmir's scholastic horizon, the passage is essentially a saga of unfolding events of time and stories of their scholarship in which Kashmiri Pandit scholars are an integral component. For having made indelible imprints of outstanding traditions of literary excellence the Pandits of Kashmir are known the world over. The cultural heritage and literary tradition of Kashmiri Pandits is rich and diverse. Indeed the prominence it has earned the Pandits of Kashmir, makes the community proud of its saints and scholars. Culture and tradition is moulded by individuals of a community. It reflects certain elements relating to language, art and culture, of its spiritual and contemplative philosophy and life.

For the health of its own soul, West wanted to know everything and exploit that lay within the range of their intellect. The curiosity and spirit of inquiry, this intellectual urge of the West was contagious and it was transmitted as a matter of fact to the Kashmiri Pandits also. For the latter it also became a great mental tonic and spiritual force to awaken and rejuvenate their intellectual sense.

To a discerning mind, as that to any, who appreciates the contribution of western scholars, who found a kind of gift by a historical coincidence through England, the greatest benefit Pandits in Kashmir have received, was the opportunity of an interface that occurred between Pandit scholars and Western indologists beginning in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century until the second quarter of the twentieth in assessing the rich wealth of their own



language, art and literature.

As an old people worried and wearied by domestic trials and tribulations and consideration of matters both mundane and intellectual, Pandits of Kashmir had suffered the inability to portray the gifts of scholarship to the world. For a long time Pandits had nothing but some shreds of their past memories, some dim recollections of what they were and what they did by their genius. Before all that could have been lost for posterity by the advent of so called modernism, their traditional literary wealth was given a fine treatment by western scholars in association with the local Pandits and thus one of the richest oriental literature was prevented from getting lost.

This period of interface produced some of the immortals of oriental studies among the western scholars and who could not have attained the pinnacle of their literary glory but for cooperation, able guidance and collaboration of their counterparts in Pandit scholars. Here one cannot fail to appreciate that this interface gave insight into the rich wealth of Pandits' vast literary treasures and opened to the world one of the richest reserves of ancient knowledge and wisdom.

The credit for this appreciation doubtless goes to the western scholars and immortalizing some of the indologists and orientalist, credit genuinely passes on to Pandit scholars whose collaboration coupled with high erudition and without clamouring for laurels served the best interest of the indological studies with the sole aim to further scholarship in its highest tradition and through purest pursuits.

This thus is the single dominating fact of interface which took place between Western indologists and Kashmiri Pandit scholars. This fact also makes it a high point of literary history of Kashmir in modern times. The interface also bridges Pandits to the glory of their past achievements and deserving claims. It also brings forth the hope of their



future role in shaping the literary and scholarly traditions for the gain and benefit of mankind as a whole.

Founder of the oldest oriental society and himself a scholar and investigator of first rank, William Jones will be remembered for all ages as one of the foremost intellectuals of the world in all ages. William Jones was one of the greatest linguist and humanist of the modern age. Among those rare spirits of Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century who nurtured as they were in the humanism of Greece and Rome, felt irresistibly drawn towards the cultures, religions, the languages and literature of the East was William Jones. And it is very largely to his credit that an instinctive urge was brought within the purview of a reasoned endeavour, a vague and imperfectly understood wishful desire to know more about the eastern people and to speculate about them was transformed by him into a conscious spirit of inquiry and systematized research. He was not, however, a pioneer in this field. Six years before he started 'Asiatic Society of Bengal' some Dutch scholars resident then in Batavia in Java had already established their 'Association of the Arts and Sciences'. But no one seems to have understood more penetratingly the implications of this new line of inquiry into the history and civilisation of people of Asia in which the mind of Europe began to busy itself for the first time. There were other scholarly pioneers like Estevao in Konkani, Beschi in Tamil, Anquetil du Perron in Avesta philosophy, Nathaniel Brassey in Bengali and Charles Wilkins in Sanskrit. William Jones was not only an incarnation of intellectual curiosity of highly cultivated and humanistic eighteenth century West, he was something more. His work has meant more to Indians than what he himself or any compatriot of his was conscious of. His vision transcended the age in which he lived and in some cases penetrated the gloom, which still covered the history of the origin and development of Asiatic and European





*Sir William Jones; b. 1746 d. 1794*  
*Reproduction of the picture of Sir William Jones in the Senior Common*  
*Room of University College, Oxford.*



people when he took up the eastern classics for translation for the pleasure of it. He selected two manuscripts of the drama *Shakuntala* of Kalidasa in its most characteristic form, the recensions of Bengal and Kashmir. It is one of the most exquisite creation of literature which has become a classic for the whole humanity and which was hailed with acclaim by no less a personality than Goethe himself – Jones' great contemporary.

William Jones' translations of *Shakuntala* led to the recognition of the original text as one of the masterpieces in the world literature. "*The Scontala or The Fatal Ring*" an Indian drama by *Calidasa* was translated from the original Sanskrit and Pracrit into English by Jones in the year 1789. It was printed in Calcutta and sold by Joseph Cooper for the benefit of Insolvent Debtors.

William Jones was born in London on September 20, 1746 and he died in Calcutta on April 27, 1794 before he could complete his 48th birthday. He was in India for just eleven years. He left his mark on Indian science and letters and has been an unforeseen force in the intellectual and even spiritual regeneration of people of India. He had inherited some great intellectual qualities both from his father and mother. His father was a Welsh and well-known mathematician and a close friend of Halley and Newton. His mother was a daughter of a London cabinet maker who helped her son to build remarkable character of his mind. She will always live in the memory of mankind for her words that urged her son in his studies 'Read and you will know'. Young Jones, with what his father left him got the best education that a scion of intellectual father could get in the eighteenth century England.

He passed out through Harrow and Oxford and graduated in 1768 and became M.A. in 1773. He travelled to Germany, France and Italy along with his pupil, a young nobleman Althorp. Jones studied Latin, Greek and learnt French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. He



corresponded in Latin with Polish scholar Reviczki, in Arabic with Dutch, Schultens and in Spanish with Bayer. He became fluent in Hebrew, Arabic and Persian while at Oxford. At the repeated request of the king Christian VII of Denmark, he translated into French a Persian biography of Nadir Shah, the manuscript of which was with the king in 1770 when Jones was only twenty four of age. Before that, when he was only of twenty two years, his oriental interest had led him to works written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the results of which were published subsequently in 1774. In recognition of his linguistic attainments he was made Fellow of Royal Society. He consorted with intellectual elite of England such as Johnson, Burke and Gibbon. William Jones was anxious to spend his life studying the ancient as well as eastern history, literature and culture, but for living he decided for law.

With this end in view he joined Middle Temple in 1770 and was finally called to Bar in 1774. In 1776 he was appointed as Commissioner of Bankrupts. In 1781 he authored *Essay on Bailments*. In connection with his work as lawyer he was to sail to America and then to France in 1782 but fate decided otherwise. He was eager to go out to India only in order to have greater opportunities for study and research into culture and literature of eastern people. In March 1783 Jones obtained his much coveted appointment as judge of Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta. The same year he was knighted. In April 1783 he married the eldest daughter of Bishop of St. Asaph and set sail to India the same month and arrived in Calcutta in September 1783. Consequently with the cooperation of his friends he held a meeting on 15th January, 1784 at which it was resolved to establish a Society under the name of 'Asiatik Society'. It was however Sir Warren Hastings, Fellow of Royal Society who was invited to become the first President of Society but on his suggestion this honour was conferred on William Jones himself. The Asiatik Society



was renamed in 1851 as 'Asiatik Society of Bengal' to distinguish it from its younger sister 'Asiatik Society of Great Britain and Ireland'.

The 'Asiatik Society' was born in the presence of thirty distinguished British people resident in Calcutta which included Charles Wilkins, the first English man and one of the first Europeans to study Sanskrit. William Jones' achievements provided means of developing an enduring cultural fellowship between East and West and between people of Great Britain and India despite their political conflicts and misunderstandings. It is no longer impossible to testimony the intelligence of rare serenity informed with wide philosophical culture of 18th century the genius of William Jones, the most enlightened sons of men to have conceived the grand role which Asia has enacted in human history with its vast wealth of materials for study of arts and sciences. In the short life span of forty eight years William Jones mastered twenty eight languages and produced great treatises of Hindu and Muslim law, translated world renowned classics as the *Hitopedesa* and *Shakuntala* and portions of the *Vedas*.

Another English man Charles Wilkins too was quite proficient in Sanskrit and he translated the *Bhagavad Geeta* into English which was published in 1785. It was the first Sanskrit work rendered directly from Sanskrit into a European language and it is pleasing to think that there was something providential in the selection of great philosophico-religious text of India as the first work to be presented to the West in a European version directly from Sanskrit. It was later that Latin version of *Upanishads* came from the hands of Anquetil du Perron in Paris in 1801-02. Charles Wilkins also rendered *Hitopedesa* in English in 1787 and *Shakuntala* in 1795. In 1808 Wilkins published in England his Sanskrit grammar in which *Nagari* letters were first used in a book printed in England.

On February 2, 1786 while addressing the third Annual



Discourse before the Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones spoke on history and culture of the Hindus and informed the western world the great fact of Sanskrit being the repository of Indian literature and civilisation and also the fact of its being closely related to Greek and Latin. According to Sir William Jones, "The Sanskrit language whatever be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a strong affinity". William Jones' brilliant suggestion put linguistics on right track of conceiving human speech to be groupable in families. He was a poet and scholar rolled in to one. He was the earliest to compose poems dedicated to the deities of Indian pantheon. He was the first to forge the link of cultural collaboration of East and West by demonstrating the genetic relation of Sanskrit with the languages of the West.

The sixteenth century Italian scholar, Sassetti, apparently studied Sanskrit calling it pleasant musical language. In the seventeenth century Dutch scholar Abraham Rongreus published in 1651 the translation of Bharatrihari in Europe for the first time. Anquetil du Perron had come to India before William Jones and studied the pious texts in Sanskrit. William Jones was succeeded by Henry Thomas Colebrooke who published with James Prinsep many valuable articles and Sanskrit texts, grammars, dictionaries etc. together with monumental Asiatic Researches. But all such publications were temporarily shut out from the continent by Napoleon's continental blockade. It is, however, interesting to know that Napoleon rendered an unconscious service to orientalism by taking with him on his expeditions to Egypt some of the leading scientists and savants and they brought to Europe the now famous *Rosetta* stone discovered on one of the branches of river Nile.

What French scholars did for Egyptology, the British



Sanskritists like Wilkins, Jones and Colebrooke did for Indology. The Asiatic Society through its learned members have pioneered the studies of many languages and cultures of Asia through its journals, proceeding memoirs, and Bibliotheca Indica originally styled as Bibliotheca Asiatica. Chinese characters were actually printed in Bengal by Jones and Marshman helped Taberd to print his Annamite-Latin Dictionary in 1838. Tibetan grammar and dictionary were published by the Asiatic Society helping to bring out the celebrated researches of Hungarain Csoma-de-Koros (1784-1842). William Jones' works and interest in his relatively short period of eleven years in India made him one of the most outstanding men of his generation. He was a pioneer in interpreting the East to the West. He was the first to bring out an English translation of *Shakuntala*, India's most cherished possession which was later utilized by Chezy for his French edition and translation of the same. On the German translation of his work, Goethe recorded his appreciation.

The record of appreciation of western contribution on Indic studies would be incomplete if one does not recall the outstanding and most valuable researches of Professor Cowell and Professor Bendall of the Cambridge University. In fact they have contributed to the progress of Royal Asiatic Society itself. The former greatly stimulated the historical study of Indian legal systems and the latter is celebrated for his Nepal collection of manuscripts. Though William Jones earned his fame as humanist and jurist, yet amidst so many other occupations and in spite of his untimely death he was able to spare time for becoming the learned populariser of Sanskrit in Europe by becoming the first interpreter of Brahmanic code. Without the movement which Jones initiated, it would not have been possible to publish simultaneously two critical editions of *Tripitaka*. The first was made by a committee of venerable Buddhist priests in Cambodia in 1931 and done in Pali and



*from the Editor*

S A C O N T A L Á,

OR

THE FATAL RING;

AN

I N D I A N D R A M A

BY

C Á L I . D Á S:

TRANSLATED

FROM THE ORIGINAL

SANSCRIT AND PRACRIT,

---

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOSEPH COOPER,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF INSOLVENT DEBTORS.

MDCCLXXXIX.



Cambodian languages and the other was a Franco-Cambodian edition based on Pali text received in Cambodia and translated by the greatest Indian scholars. It was published in 1948 in Paris.

In the long history of Indology there is no name which appeals more strongly to us than that of Sir William Jones. He was the first European who drew world's attention to the exalted beauty of Indian poetry. He was the first to publish an Indian text in Indian letters in Europe and to devise a really scientific transliteration of the Indian alphabet. In almost every branch of Indian studies in Europe we find him as a great pioneer and his influence was great and lasting. He opened the door to a fruitful collaboration in the best interests of India and Europe. William Jones' close association with Indian scholars showed the way and since his day the contact and mutual respect between Indian and European fellow students became more and more intimate and cordial. It goes to the credit of Sir William Jones of having provided the impetus that led to new understanding of scholastic relationship and to an appreciation of the literary and philosophic achievements of India. This is nowhere better illustrated than when James Prinsep in India and George Turnour in Ceylon through independent researches later collaborated unravelling the *Edicts of Asoka* and *Priyadarsi*. However it was Sir William Jones who by introducing the genius of Kalidasa in English garb to the western world that led to the latter's recognition as the Indian Shakespeare.

As a founder of modern cultural studies in India, Sir William Jones was also parent of scientific archaeology in India as he had also become a member of United Brothers in 1768 along with Roxburgh and Buchanan that later flourished as Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta. We can not but admire that the man of such destiny who in a series of *Desiderata* written out in his own hand, which was found in his papers after his death, had placed before





*Obelisk over the remains of Sir William Jones, South Park Street,  
Burial Ground, Calcutta.  
(Now Closed)*



himself amongst so many vast and comprehensive scholarly projects also 'The History of India before the Muhammeden conquest from the Sanskrit Kashmir Histories' and Kashmiri recension of *Shakuntala* for the determination and restoration of the original text besides tackling the question of Prakrita and the problem of Kalidasa's age. Indeed the light he kindled for studying Kashmiri texts never went out but its glimmer took some time to shine in glory.

The spark that Jones had kindled for indological studies in Kashmir by his references to 'Sanskrit Histories of Kashmir' and Kashmiri recension of *Shakuntala*, had to wait for a glimmer until the arrival of a Hungarian named Csoma-de-Koros. In 1819 when Csoma was 36, he began his travel on foot. He made his way to Kashmir with long detours to avoid regions with cholera and plague through Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Kabul and Lahore. He was a legend in his own time and eventually a patriotic symbol stimulating his countrymen's interest in oriental research. His romantic pilgrimage, his death in 1842 in the distant Himalayan foothills captured the imagination of more than one Hungarian who in one way or the other and for one reason or the other made their way to the East. A penniless student who rose to be an underpaid teacher in his college in Transylvania, Csoma's harsh frugality was lifelong assertion that money and scholarship must not bed down together. Even when given a room in Asiatic Society in Calcutta, Asian and European scholars marvelled that he subsisted entirely on tea enriched with dollops of butter and small amounts of plain boiled rice. He slept on a mat on the floor flanked by boxes of books, rarely emerged from a cell-like room and had but one suit which he wore day and night.

He started his journey as a dream possessed wanderer into the Himalayan wilds of Central Asia's Greater Hungary, the supposed cradle of Hungarian people whom popular belief connected with the Huns. He became an



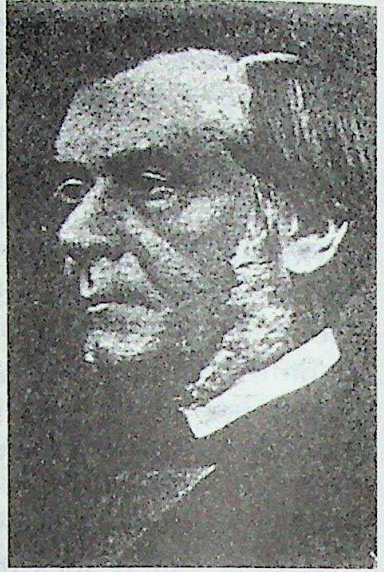
ascetic scholar whose special talents and unusual mentality directed him to Tibet for twenty years exploring and explaining recondite Buddhist lore of western Tibet. He was the first European who acquired a systematic scholarly knowledge of Tibetan language and opened access to the extensive literature composed in it. He published grammar of Tibetan language and was considered an authority on the language. But subsequent labour showed that most Tibetan church literature was translated from Sanskrit by Kashmiri Pandits and as further research succeeded in recovering more and more of these sacred texts of Buddhism, Tibetan study in Europe slackened for a time and with them also the interest in this remarkable man who had been their founder.

Csoma listed localities and dates in Kashmir and reached the mountain kingdom of Leh, the chief settlement of western Tibet. From Leh, the gateway to Central Asia he attempted to go to Yarkand. He was warned that "road to Yarkand was very difficult, expensive and dangerous for a Christian". In the hope of finding another way, Csoma returned to Kashmir in 1823 when quite by chance he met another traveller William Moorcroft. Moorcroft detailed his own experiences on acquiring of old Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir.

However two men who gave depth and focus to Indological studies in Kashmir were Rudolph von Roth (1821-1895) Professor of Indo-European languages and the History of Religions at the University of Tubingen and Georg Buhler (1837-1898) Professor of Indian Philology and Antiquities at the University of Vienna. He was an authority on Indian Paleography. Johann Georg Buhler, son of a clergyman, was born on July 19, 1837 at Borstel near Nienburg, Hanover. He studied Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Zend, German, Persian, Armenian, Arabic, archaeology and philosophy at Goettingen University. His Sanskrit *Guru* Theodor Benfey considered him to be his most promising



student. Buhler obtained a doctorate in 1858. From 1859 to 1862 he stayed in London as a private tutor. Later he was assistant to the Librarian of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. After a brief term at the Goettingen University Library he was nominated professor of Oriental Languages at Elphinstone College, Bombay in 1863. Here he taught Sanskrit, Prakrit and Latin. He also studied Sanskrit with a Pandit and was soon able to speak the language fluently. In 1868 he was promoted to the post of



Professor Rudolph von Roth;  
b. 1821 d. 1895

Educational Inspector of Gujarat and Officer-in-charge of search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Bombay Presidency. On account of ill health he was pensioned in 1880. After recovery he accepted a professorship of Indian Philology and Archaeology in Wien in the same year. He held this post until his untimely death on April 8, 1898 due to drowning in the Lake Constance, Lindau in Switzerland aboard the boat named Nutshel whose lone occupant he was at the time of the tragic accident. And more sad, his body was never recovered. Von Roth was the co-author of the monumental Sanskrit-German dictionary also known as St. Petersburg Lexicon. He had also handled the *Vedic* portion of which *Rig Veda*, the oldest Indian religious text, composed about 2500 B.C. was in Sanskrit and had unrivalled knowledge of Sanskrit manuscript materials. Rudolph von Roth was born on April 3, 1821 in Stuttgart. He studied Theology in Tübingen where Ewald aroused his interest in Sanskrit and Persian studies. He obtained his doctorate in 1843. He then went to Paris, London and



Oxford to deepen his knowledge of Sanskrit. On his return to Tübingen in 1845 he settled there as lecturer of Oriental Philology. He became an Associate Professor in 1848. He was promoted to professorship in 1856 and at the same time he was appointed chief of the University Library. He died in Tübingen on June 23, 1895. Von Roth came to possess a unique *Vedic* manuscript. From a traveller's garbled account of the Brahmanic cult in Kashmir, he made an informed guess that its existence indicated an unknown version of a text of *Atharvaveda*, a collection of magical incantations combined with number of hymns of pre-philosophical speculative nature.

The story of this search had begun far away long ago with the earliest visit of Europeans to Kashmir in the mid seventeenth century. Europeans first learned of histories of ancient kings of Kashmir from a Persian compilation and subsequently with increasing desire to learn more of India's history the need to find Kalhana's chronicle grew. Few searches including that of Sir William Jones who had died earlier declared the intentions. Horace Wilson through his 'Essay on Hindu History of Cashmire' introduced first cantos of Kalhana's work. William Moorcroft had earlier acquired transcription of it. The father of Indian archaeology, Sir Alexander Cunningham had through coin collection fixed some dates in Kalhana's account with the publication of *Ancient Coinage of Kashmir*, with chronological and historical notes and by iconographic reading of ruined Hindu temples, he began recreating Kashmir's ancient topography the results of which were published as 'An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture' in 1848. Rudolph von Roth through scholarly and quasi-official channels persuaded the British authorities in India to try and locate such manuscripts in Kashmir, the then inaccessible earthly paradise. After many years it came to pass that in 1875 Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Ranbir Singh, sent the manuscript to Sir William Muir the then Lieutenant Governor. His Excellency was non-plussed when



the object of negotiation was handed to him. It was a messy bundle of grimy, tattered birch bark leaves, 287 pieces held together by a cord passing through the middle of each leaf. An urgent wire was sent to Georg Buhler, then Professor of Oriental languages in Bombay, to come to the Viceregal mansion. Buhler arrived. One look at the manuscript made from the trimmed and smoothed inner bark of birch trees, Buhler knew that what it needed was a washing. Reassuring Sir William Muir that the ink used would not be affected; he proceeded to launder the bundle in the Lieutenant Governor's bathroom. The manuscript was restored by its bath and Sir William was impressed by Buhler. The scholar entrusted the bundle to a native bookbinder and a week later the pages cleaned and properly ordered were sent to Professor von Roth. The year was 1875. Later, on Roth's death, it became one of Tübingen University's greatest treasure. Buhler unlike most other continental Sanskritists lived and worked in Kashmir before being called to Vienna.

In the half-century between Moorcroft and Csoma and Buhler, works in epigraphy, linguistics and numismatics had begun to decipher the mystery of Kashmir's past. Buhler's firm knowledge of Kashmiri script convinced him that many of the errors and much confusion in *Rajatarangini* were due to the faulty transcription. He agreed with Wilson who long before had characterised them as being so defective that a close translation of them if desirable would have been impracticable. The first prerequisite, Buhler saw, was to obtain a script, free from clerical errors. The copies he obtained were all in *Devanagari* script, therein he was certain, lay the fault. The script in which Sanskrit and modern Hindi are written did not become common in Kashmir until the second half of nineteenth century when it replaced the *Sharada* script used by Kashmiri Pandit scholars. This difference can be likened to those between German written in Gothic and German written in Latin script.



Buhler concluded that the numerous corrections in all the *Devanagari* transcripts made the recovery of *Sharada* text imperative and not just any *Sharada* text but the particular one from which Moorcroft's transcription had been made. The versified colophon attached to the manuscript indicated that the 'Annals of the Kings of Kashmir' was copied, and had been obtained from the learned Kashmiri Pandit Sivaram who was praised in the colophon as the representative of that family which alone in Kashmir had always preserved a copy of the Royal Chronicle. There was one and only one true manuscript of *Rajatarangini*. Buhler called it *Codex Archetypus*. Buhler set out to find it. In Kashmir he traced it to the grandson of the Pandit who had permitted Moorcroft to have it copied. There his good fortune deserted him. Buhler was permitted only a glimpse before the owner took the manuscript away. The brief look at the peculiar extensively cursive writing made it clear that it would present difficulties for anyone not familiar with *Sharada* script.

Georg Buhler's brilliant deductions, his fondest hopes, his pilgrimage to study the archetype, all came to naught. But his memorable tour initiated a collaborative phase of European scholars with Kashmiri Pandits. He wrote his Report – 'In search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir' in 1877. In this tour he came in contact with the most outstanding Sanskrit scholars of Kashmir, viz Pandit Damodar and Pandit Govind Kaul. Of these Pandits, wrote Buhler in his Report, "Pandit Damodar is a thoroughly learned man who seems to shake Sanskrit verse and prose out of his sleeve. He takes pains spending hours to explain these artistic products of his poetic talent until I am forced to erect a dam against the flood of didactic erudition. He has much humour and inexhaustible supply of proverbs and anecdotes. Another young Pandit, Govind Kaul surprised me with his exact knowledge of old geography of Kashmir and the true historical sense accompanying it which he displays in many questions relating to it. I wish



I had such teachers in our Oriental College”.

Buhler left Kashmir having failed to obtain the *codex* of the *Rajatarangini*. He sensed defeat but he went with hope.

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## Buhler's Visit to Kashmir and The Report

'Sharada' – the word bears reference to the Goddess of Learning. For the Pandits of Kashmir it is far more important to worship *Sharada* than *Lakshmi*. She is the most revered deity. References are galore where their native land has been referred to as '*Sharada Desh*' – the abode of Goddess *Sharada*. The Kashmiris developed a script to write their language, even this they called *Sharada*.

The Kashmiri Pandits are known throughout history for their cerebral graces having made seminal contribution to literature, religion and art of India. They have left an indelible mark on the canvas of Indian ethos. The Pandits produced a vast amount of written treatises in *Sharada* script.

Almost as late as up to the seventeenth century when *Devanagari* script replaced *Sharada* as a more common written script for Kashmiri works, even thereafter also *Sharada* was not uncommon for the learned class of Kashmiri Pandits to make use of up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Perhaps it is the sad story of recent times that Pandits forced by circumstances of imposition of Persian and Arabic influence on their language has caused *Sharada* script to wane away from the sight. The most tragic aspect of the literary history of Kashmiri Pandits is accounted for by the fact that what the forefathers of Pandits wrote just a century ago, in the most common script *Sharada*, is sadly not readable to its present generation.

Believe it or not, today there are but a handful of elderly Kashmiri Pandits that may include few of their most eminent scholars who can read and write in *Sharada* script. Yet the most valuable of their ancient literature is contained



in manuscripts written in *Sharada* characters. Despite the tragic happenings that the Pandits have faced in Kashmir even in post-independent India, Pandit households still possessed the precious family heirlooms of *Sharada* manuscripts written by their forefathers. They prized the possession and guarded these as sacred, for they bore the best stamp of their literary pursuits.

Today the picture is grim. The horrendous migration Pandits were compelled to make in the 90's of last century caused them to abandon their *Sharada* manuscript treasures as they ran away from the valley to avoid death and doom. In today's scene, *Sharada* manuscript in a Kashmiri Pandit house is a rarity. A single copy of it is a priceless heirloom of the rich legacy and if by any chance it is on a birch bark, even a single leaf, instead on old home-made paper, it is precious beyond description.

It is in the context of these issues the availability of *Sharada* manuscripts assumes significance. The study becomes more important in the light of historico-cultural sense to record the assessment of these manuscripts. It is important for the younger generation of Pandits in particular and the present generation in general to estimate the richness of this legacy. The following study is a brief history about the contents, authorship and fate of some of the most important Kashmir *Sharada* manuscripts that have been accounted for in oriental literature and reference works related to Kashmir studies.

Even though it were the Pandits of Kashmir who wrote a vast amount of their literature in *Sharada* script the appreciation of the wealth of these manuscripts belongs to Western scholars, who first came to Kashmir in the last quarter of the 19th century and frequented up to early 20th century.

They collected and collated these manuscripts, bringing them to light thereby making these great treasure stores of Sanskrit learning in India available to scholars throughout



the world. It goes to the credit of Sir William Jones, the first European scholar who made use of a Kashmiri *Sharada* manuscript (recension) besides also a Bengali and *Devanagari* recension for the English translation of Kalidasa's play '*Shakuntala*' in 1789, that is considered as one of the most significant services in the cause of international literature. This work also led to the recognition of original Kashmiri text as one of the most reliable, of the masterpiece in the world literature.

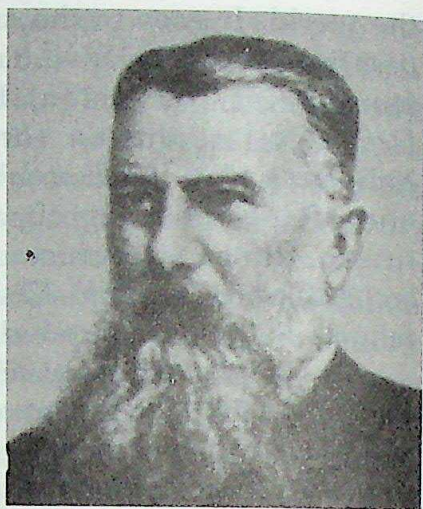
But it was almost a century of long wait until 1875 when *Sharada* manuscripts of Kashmir drew attention of Western scholars. It was by an order of the government to proceed on a tour to Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts that Georg Buhler arrived in Srinagar on 11th August, 1875.

A native assistant and his old friend Pandit Vishwanath conducted the tour before he left from Bombay to Kashmir. En route, Buhler spent a few days in Lahore, where through the kindness of a Kashmiri scholar, Pandit Radhakrishan, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's former *Jyotshi*, he spent time in the search of Sanskrit literature.

Pandit Radhakrishan gave Buhler the names of his Kashmiri correspondents and such information about the libraries and the scholars of the valley as he possessed. He also introduced him to some other emigrants from Kashmir and to the Pandits who had visited Lahore. With their help, Buhler obtained the first nucleus of *Sharada* manuscripts from Kashmir. These included *Sri Harasacharita* of Bana and Bhartrihari's *Vakyapadiya* with a portion of Punyaraja's commentary. It is sad that Buhler did not see this good old Pandit again. Pandit Radhakrishan died rather unexpectedly in October 1875 before Buhler returned from Kashmir. After his death Buhler recorded, "Sanskrit learning has lost in him a true friend and his native a zealous worker on the field of reform and progress". Pandit Radhakrishan was one of the first Kashmiri natives who



allowed Europeans to see his collection of manuscripts. He was the first Kashmiri who addressed the Government of India recommending that Sanskrit manuscripts possessed in native libraries in Kashmir should be catalogued. On arrival in Srinagar, Buhler received from Major Henderson, the Political Resident, the memorandum on Sanskrit libraries and books, prepared by Babu Nilamber Mukherjee and a



Professor Georg Buhler;  
b. 1837 d. 1898

very valuable catalogue of such Sanskrit works as was said to be existing in Kashmir. This followed a meeting with Diwan Kriparam, who introduced Buhler to some of the chief Kashmiri Pandit scholars. On the following day Buhler had interview with Maharaja Ranbir Singh which followed with a visit to *Madresa* headed by Pandit Ramjiv, the son of Pandit Rajakak who combined the office of Superintendent, Education and that of Revenue Officer. On 15th August 1875, Buhler met Kashmiri scholar Pandit Dayaram. It was from his illustrious father, Pandit Sahebram who was deeply versed in the *Sastras* and ancient history of Kashmir, that Pandit Dayaram had become a possessor of great and valuable information on ancient geography of Kashmir.

On 18th August, Buhler's work began in earnest. He arranged with Pandit Dayaram and his brother Pandit Damodar the second son of Pandit Sahebram for copies of nearly seventy works contained in the list of Sanskrit manuscripts he had received from Babu Nilamber. With Pandit Damodar's assistance Buhler obtained two copies of a *Sharada* manuscript of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* for



collation. In this task he was assisted by young Pandit Chandram Rajanaka, the son of Tekaram Pandit. From 18th August to 20th September, 1875, this work continued from early morning till sunset. Buhler also kept himself busy receiving Pandits who came to see him, in collecting information regarding Kashmir literature, history and geography and in selecting what was useful among the numerous *Sharada* manuscripts offered for sale. In this task Buhler was indebted to two sons of Sahebram, Pandit Chandram, Pandit Dayaram Jyotshi, Pandit Govind Kaul, son of Pandit Bal Kaul and Lal Pandit.

They furnished him with answers to his various queries and showed themselves always ready to sacrifice their time in order to satisfy his curiosity. During this period Buhler paid a visit to Kesavram Pandit, the possessor of *Codex Archetypus* of the *Rajatarangini*, whose habit and age forbid his going to visit anybody. He was good enough to show him the *Codex*, the most authentic *Sharada* manuscript of *Rajatarangini* and allowed him to collate a number of passages regarding which other *Sharada* copies did not satisfy him.

Following Buhler's stay in Srinagar proper, he obtained an order from the *Darbar* empowering him to make collection and excavation of manuscripts wherever he thought fit. He was assisted by Pandit Chandram in this task, who completed the task of collating *Rajatarangini* besides he became his interpreter and connecting link between himself and other Pandits of towns. On the 20th October, 1875, the arrangements of Buhler's departure were completed. Three hundred *Sharada* manuscripts had been packed securely in six tin lined boxes, a general list had been prepared. The accounts with writers and sellers of manuscripts had been settled. As Buhler left Kashmir with the treasure of three hundred *Sharada* manuscripts he left via Jammu, through Maharaja's private road over Banihal accompanied by Pandit Chandram desirous to accompany



him as far as possible.

Recalling his experience with the Pandit scholars during his visit to Kashmir, Buhler recorded, "As regards the present state of literary activity I can say, that I saw one really distinguished Pandit who would be able to hold up his head high anywhere – Damodar, the son of Sahebram, the chief teacher in Maharaja's *madresa*. He possesses all the characteristics of a Kashmirian scholar, great quickness and sharpness, a considerable fund of good-natured humour and flow of eloquence combined with thorough knowledge of Sanskrit poetics and poetry and a very respectable knowledge of grammar, of *Nyaya* and of *Shaiva* philosophy. He explained to me several verses from Sanskrit poems which had baffled not only myself but also some of the best Pandits of India. His own poetical composition a continuation of *Rajatarangini* and a letter writer entitled *Praudhalekhah* which he was good enough to read and to explain to me for hours, certainly surpasses Sri Harsha and Bana and can be only compared to Subandhu's *Vasavadatta*".

"Pandit Damodar was however not the only man of a scholarly turn of mind. His brother Pandit Dayaram was an authority on the ancient geography and history of Kashmir. The same subject occupied Pandit Govind Kaul, the son of Pandit Bal Kaul, who showed me portions of a Hindi translation of *Rajatarangini* which contained many new explanations of difficult passages.

"He possessed a truly scientific spirit of inquiry. Pandit Damodar Jyotshi too appeared to possess a respectable knowledge of the *Sastra*, astronomy and astrology and to be a man who was contented with having learned his books but desired to further improve himself and especially gain some knowledge of European astronomy. A great many Pandits gave private tuitions to small classes of pupils in Sanskrit grammar, in the *Puranas*, *Kavyas*, *Almkara* and *Shaiva* philosophy. The largest number of pupil I saw at



Pandit Keshavram's house, where about a dozen were present".

Buhler saw dozens of private libraries of Kashmiri Pandits and identified scores of manuscripts of importance and worth, yet being unsure that was all, because Pandits revealed their existence only after prolonged acquaintance with the inquirer. Buhler inspected the libraries of the best of known Sanskrit scholars in Srinagar. As many as twenty two Sanskrit libraries existed then in Srinagar. Some of them were virtually large storehouses of Sanskrit manuscripts carefully and systematically preserved. Of these eleven existed in the very heart of Srinagar in Habba Kadal. The libraries identified by Buhler belonged to:

- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Pandit Dayaram           | Resident of Habba Kadal       |
| 2. Pandit Kesavram          | - do -                        |
| 3. Pandit Suraj Kak         | -do-                          |
| 4. Pandit Bida Sahib        | -do-                          |
| 5. Pandit Ram Kaul Sahib    | -do-                          |
| 6. Pandit Mahtab Joo        | -do-                          |
| 7. Pandit Sahaj Kaul        | -do-                          |
| 8. Pandit Raj Kak           | -do-                          |
| 9. Pandit Kaval Ramdan      | -do-                          |
| 10. Pandit Chand Ram        | -do-                          |
| 11. Pandit Mahanand Joo     | -do-                          |
| 12. Lal Pandit              | Resident of Kani Kadal        |
| 13. Pandit Kamal Raidan     | -do-                          |
| 14. Pandit Gopal Kokilu     | Resident of Bana Mohalla      |
| 15. Pandit Prakash Chand    | Resident of Ganesh Ghat       |
| 16. Pandit Janardan         | -do-                          |
| 17. Pandit Prakash Mekh     | Residence not identified      |
| 18. Pandit Mukand Jyotshi   | -do-                          |
| 19. Pandit Hari Ram Jyotshi | -do-                          |
| 20. Pandit Daya Ram Jyotshi | Resident of Sathu Barbar Shah |
| 21. Pandit Tota Ram Jyotshi | Resident of Rainawari         |
| 22. Pandit Balakak          | Resident of Safakadal         |

Yet some of the best pieces of great many books that came in his possession came from people entirely unacquainted with Sanskrit. Manuscript of *Rigveda* came



from such a source. A few libraries which were not large existed at Sopore, Islamabad, Anantnag and Baramulla. But they were not as rich to tempt him to make purchases. His keen eye preferred the *Bhurja* and paper *Sharada* manuscripts instead of *Devanagari* manuscript copies in Kashmir and the paper *Devanagari* manuscripts imported from India proper. The *Bhurja* manuscripts were written on specially prepared thin sheets of inner bark of Himalayan birch – *Baetula Bhojpatra* and invariably in *Sharada* characters. The use of birch bark for literary purposes in Kashmir is attested by the earliest classical Sanskrit writers. Kalidasa mentions it in his dramas and epics. Susruta and Varamihara (Circa 500-500 AD) knew it likewise. The Petersburg Dictionary refers it from Kashmiri manuscript *Kathaka*, a redaction of *Yajurveda* manuscript of Kashmiri origin. According to Buhler, "Kashmiri Pandits asserted and apparently with good reason, that in Kashmir all books were written on *Bhurja patras* from the earliest times, until the conquest of valley by Akbar about 250 years ago".

It was Akbar who introduced manufacture of paper in Kashmir. To the Pandits *Bhurja patra* was sacred too. *Mantras* written on pieces of *Bhurja patra* were worn as amulets with *ashtau-gandha*, a mixture of eight odoriferous substances i.e. camphor, sandal and turmeric which would vary according to deity to which writing was dedicated. From Akbar's arrival in Kashmir, the use of birch-bark for purpose of writing was discontinued and the method of preparing it too was lost. It was impossible by the end of the 19th century for the Kashmiris to produce a new birch-bark manuscript. According to Buhler, "the Pandits were very anxious to rediscover the secret of preparing birch-bark for writing", but he declined them any help for fear of manufacture of spurious manuscripts. During Buhler's time as the matter stood, there were no birch-bark manuscripts younger than two hundred years and some were four and five hundred years old. The preparation of



ink which was used for *Bhurja* manuscripts was known. It was made by converting almond into charcoal and boiling the coal thus obtained with *Goumutra* (urinabovis). The ink thus obtained is not affected by damp or water and as the birch-bark too stands water well, it used to be a practice then to improve dirty manuscripts by washing them or by wetting at least the illegible portion. According to Buhler, Pandits regularly kept the manuscripts in water before they passed on them to him in order to improve their appearances. In Buhler's collection of birch-bark *Sharada* manuscripts was also one that was fished out of Dal Lake, into which it had probably been thrown during one of the Muslim persecutions. It was lying in water for many decades. Yet there was also a work which for long was considered as lost and was recovered from a manuscript found by a Pandit in the ceiling of his house to which it had been nailed to keep rain out.

The *Sharada* paper manuscripts stand next in value to the *Bhurja* manuscripts. However the *Sharada* characters become, if they are written hastily, very difficult to read, but when written carefully they are plain enough. A curious practice observed in *Sharada* manuscripts is the adoption of two spirants called in Sānskrit, *Jhivamulya* and *Upadhmaviya* – *kh* and *ph*. These two are hardly ever used in *Devanagari* manuscripts. They make the manuscripts particularly valuable for collation because certain ligatures e.g. *sy* and *sp* which in *Devanagari* are very similar in appearance become unlike to each other in *Sharada* characters. According to Buhler, "*Devanagari* manuscripts in Kashmir are all modern. I was told that these characters had come into general use during the last thirty years only since annexation of Kashmir to Jammu dominions.

As the *Devanagari* manuscripts are mostly prepared for the market and are also not unfrequently cooked i.e. the lacunae and defects in the original are followed, according to the fancy of scribe who corrects them and even if



afterwards corrected by Pandits they are always less trustworthy than even *Sharada* paper manuscripts". But it can not be proclaimed that all *Devanagari* Kashmiri manuscripts are untrustworthy and particularly when Buhler acquired such a great number of them. His reasons were two, firstly, he was not sure to find always the original *Sharada* manuscripts of all important works easily. Hence he took the more important ones in such *Devanagari* form as he got easily and, secondly, because Indian and European scholars would have wished for copies in better known *Devanagari* characters. For them *Sharada* was more difficult, but Buhler knew the superiority and the sacredness of *Sharada* manuscripts.

An account of some of the manuscripts contained in the collection made by Buhler during his Kashmir tour in 1875 and of those which were subsequently forwarded to him by Pandits after his return to Gujarat via Delhi, through Major Henderson's infinite trouble must today make any Pandit and student of the subject envy of the collection and also bring out his sense of pride about the legacy of such vast treasure of oriental literature that Kashmir has produced. Reviewing the vast collection of manuscripts, Buhler observed, "I must premise that I do not pretend to give all that is valuable in them. I have had no time to read several million '*Slokas*' and to compare them with versions known in other Indian works. A thorough study of such a collection would take up whole time of a student during several years and I even doubt if any one ever can sufficiently become master of all the *Sastras* represented in order to estimate the books of their extant and proper value. All that I have done is, read a few of the most remarkable works and looked into most of the rest. Three Pandits, Martand Shastri, Narayan Shastri and Pandit Vamancharya Jhalakikha (Jailkhani), set to work on what was interesting and important. They have copied most of the extracts from manuscripts. They have made indexes and abstracts of all



नदि

नहनकुग्येगुमिहरेहउकषं ठहृउमचेइकहृउमअनीइजंठ  
 वडि श्रीगिहंमद्यः श्रीमद्यः मद्यहंमकमिहृइमभः यदिकाकम  
 ग्यः श्रीमभेममहृउकिंवलणठिकीइं मगिउकीइमभमिहृअ  
 मभविगदः मभुयेडिमभमः वयउडिलकंयउम उमउमभमिह  
 लहृउठिठहृ ॥ ॥ ॥ अउमनमंवेवमुगम  
 येमहभउः हृणउटीकंकहृमिहृलठः मगिवलठम सेकंअम  
 रममदभुलिमसैवादि अनगुउविदीगउविहृलनमनेदग ॥ ॥  
 मभउयेमिगुथलवणकहृटीक, गडिः श्रीपभगुमिहृपभमभेव  
 विहृमवेव ॥ ॥ श्रीमभुदिमंवेउ ८७९९ सुधं५० वडि मभु  
 ठेभ उयेटीकमभभुनीउ ॥



the works and they are to a great extent the real authors of the classified list". It may be pride instilling for the Pandits of today's generation to know that this collection contained birch-bark manuscript by Manu and one that of *Shakuntala* which reached then, in the government archives.

In the collection of *Vedic* works, the *Bhurja* manuscript of the *Rigveda* takes the first place. It was in November 1875 the manuscript reached the hands of Prof. M. Muier whose unrivalled acquaintance with the *Rigveda* and other *Vedic* manuscripts made him the eligible retainer of the manuscript. After the *Rigveda Samhita* follow the next pieces belonging to the *Charyaniya* – *Kathaka Shaka* of the black *Yajurveda*, a fragment of *Kathaka*, then only known Kashmiri manuscript of which a copy was preserved in Berlin. It was a modern copy made from the original manuscript that belonged to Pandit Damodar Jyotshi.

Pandit Damodar's manuscript showed traces of details and in this respect was superior to Berlin manuscript. Buhler desired to obtain a copy of the same but luck did not favour him. He recorded, "I regret extremely that the Pandit either could not or would not tell me where the original of his copy is to be found". The *Kathaka grihyasutra* is a second piece of aphorism of *Kathaka* school which formed the part of collection. The others included *Dharamasutra* manuscripts also called *Vishnu Smriti*. The work contained thirty nine *adhyayas* and the aphorism on the great sacrifices performed with more than one fire. The abolition of great sacrifices in consequence of conversions of Kashmiris to Islam appears to have caused its loss. The *Kathaka grihyasutra* did not materially differ in its contents from the numerous known treatises of this class. The work contained the rules of performance of the *samskaras* or sacraments which remove the stains of hereditary sins from the twice-born, of some daily and occasional rites for householders, of the funeral obligations and other miscellaneous prescriptions on the study of *Veda*. The







author of these works on aphorism is Laugakshi, a sage from Kashmir. His other four manuscripts in the collection included *Grihyasutra*, the *mantras* and the commentary of *Devapala*. The *Arashadhyaya* and *Pravaradhyaya* made the collection very rich. The remaining *Vedic* manuscripts from Kashmir were hardly remarked by Buhler. The *Atharvavedasamhita* was earlier described by Stein's illustrious teacher, Von Roth who possessed its original, an unfortunately mutilated old *Bhurja* volume, in his hands. The manuscript was brought by Maharaja Ranbir Singh before Buhler's arrival in Kashmir and presented to Sir William Muier, the Governor, who forwarded it to India Office. The *Chaturasramyadharma* authored by Kanvayana was a remnant of some large work on *Dharma*. It was written in *Sutras*. The manuscripts of two *Richakas*, the huge *Prayogas* interspersed with *mantras* were real hand books of Kashmiri Bhattas who used these for the performance of ceremonies before the *grihya* fire.

To the next class belonged the *Puranas* and *Mahatmyas*. The *Nilamata* outstands in this group. The work was very common in Kashmir and many copies were available then and at least a copy had already gone out to Europe which finds mention in Prof. Aufrecht's Oxford catalogue. Some shorter versions in *Sharda* copies suffered lacunae. It was Maharaja Ranbir Singh who then ordered Kashmiri scholar Pandit Sahebram to prepare the text of *Nilamata* to fill up the lacunae, to remove as far as possible the ungrammatical forms which the earlier *Nilamata* manuscripts showed due to corruptions in copying the text. Of Pandit Sahebram's collection of the text, Buhler observed, "It deserves always careful consideration as a commentary because Pandit Sahebram possessed a very intimate acquaintance with ancient history of Kashmir". The *Nilamata* is supposed to be narrated by Vaisampayana, a pupil of Vyasa, to King Janamejaya. It opens with a question of the King, enquiring why no ruler in Kashmir took part in the great war between



*Kaurvas* and *Pandavas*. The account of creation of Kashmir begins with the story from *Mahabharata* regarding the bet of Kudra and Vinata, the fraudulent decision of which caused the enmity between the offsprings of the former, the Nagas, and the son of latter Garuda.

Besides the copies of *Nilamata Purana* the only other valuable *Puranic* manuscripts were the numerous Kashmiri *Mahatmyas*. As regards the manuscripts of poetical works comprising Buhler's collection they may be divided into two classes. First such were, poems composed by Kashmiris and, second, those which contained compositions of poets from India proper. The Kashmiris believe that their land was from the earliest times the abode of *Sharada* and that it produced many poets. Most of the poetic works of the times of the Kar-Kota dynasty and other real works of that time however were lost and not a single one of these was known to the Pandits.

According to Buhler, "After long inquiries Pandit Damodar obtained however a clue to the existence of *Bhuvanabhyadaya* the great epic of Sankuka which described the battle between the regents, Mamma and Utpala." Pandit Damodar's efforts to extract the manuscript remained without the result. Quotations from this work however remained preserved in the works of Srivara and Rajanaka Ratanakara Vagisvara. The other chief work of Ratanakara that included Buhler's collection was an enormous epic in fifty cantos named *Haravijaya*. This work celebrates the defeat of *Asura - Andhaka* by *Shiva*. *Haravijaya* also contains like most Sanskrit poems many single verses and passages which possess both grace and force of expression. It is also of some interest for *Saiva* mythology and philosophy. The *tika* of the work titled *Vishamapadoddyota* indicates only difficult words and passages authored by Aloka, son of Rajanaka Jayanaka.

Ratnakara the only Kashmiri poet of the 9th century represented in the Buhler's collection was not the only one



whose works still survived. Abhinanda's work *Ramacharita* and *Kadambari Kathasara* were also part of Buhler's *Sharada* manuscript collection. Buhler could obtain no *Sharada* manuscripts pertaining to any Kashmiri work of the 10th century. But his collection was well represented by number of important works of the 11th century. These were four poems by the polyhistor Kshemendra Vyasadasa. The manuscripts included *Vrihakattha* or more correctly *Vrihatkathamajari*, *Bharatmanjari* and *Kalavilasa*. The *Sharada* paper copy of the manuscript of the *Bharatmanjari* was procured with some difficulty. The collection also included three poems of Kashmiri origin written in *Sharada* characters and unknown elsewhere in India. These were *Ramayanakathasara*, the *Dasavatara-charita* and the *Samayamatrika* as well as *Vyasashtaka*. It also included treatise on metres, the *Survittatilaka*, the *Lokaprakasa* and commentary or treatise of polity by Vyasa, the *Nitikalpataru*. *Kalavilasa* was a work intended to expose the tricks of rogues, traders and artisans. The *Samayamatrika* was a work which laid open the snares of courtesans. The *Bharatamanjari* and *Ramayanamanjari* are short abstracts of two great epic poems of India. It may have caused Kshemendra a great deal of trouble to compress the subject work of these enormous works into small treatises. The *Dasavatara-charita* though somewhat different in character from three preceding works resembled them insofar as that it is was an abstract of *Pauranic* stories regarding the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The portion of it which has a great interest pertains to *Buddhavatara*.

Buhler's collections however did not include the manuscripts of *Rajavali* or history of Kashmiri Kings by Kshemendra. He, however, believed that the work existed in Kashmir then but his hope did not materialise. Buhler also obtained copies of *Sharada* manuscripts of Bilhan's *Vikramankacharita*, *Panchasika Kavyaprakasa* and *Balabodhini-vritti* of Katantra. The next Kashmiri author who



was represented in Buhler's collection was Somadeva who composed *Kathasaritasagara*. Mankha another illustrious Kashmiri poet's work also adorned Buhler's collection. The manuscript of *Srikanthacharita* is a gem piece in this class. The historical poem *Srikanthacharita* celebrates the destruction of *Asura – Tripura* by *Shiva* and contained just like the *Haravijaya* besides the story of *Tripura's* defeat, many cantos describing the usual accessories allowed in *Kavyas* i.e. seasons, sunset, sunrise, court amusements etc. In the latter *sarga* of *Srikanthacharita*, Mankha relates how after composing his epic he submitted it to a number of Pandits and officials assembled at the house of his brother Alamkara, one of the ministers of Jayasimha, a king of Kashmir (1129-1150 A.D.). Mankha not only gives the names of guests but states the *Sastras* in which each of them was proficient. The number of persons that composed this Alamkara's Sabha was thirty which included amongst others Ananda, a *Naiyayika*, Garga, a poet, Janakraja, a grammarian, and *Vaidika*, Prakata, a *Shiva* philosopher, Damodara an official and illustrious Ruyyaka, Mankha's *guru*. It can be believed that this Kashmiri work gives the earliest account of debate, discussion, concept of meetings and seminars prior to the release of literary works and books. It also gives a faithful picture of a *Sabha*, one of the chief modes of social intercourse among the learned in India then. The description is so accurate that nobody who has witnessed such gatherings in modern times will fail to recognize the beginning of such concept in this work that has laid the foundations of modern symposia, seminars and panel discussions.

Buhler's collection of *Sharada* manuscripts was glorified by the acquisition of the *Sharada* manuscript of Kalhana's great *Kavya* the *Rajatarangini*, the only Kashmiri work that subsequently bared interest to all circles of readers. Buhler enriched the government collection with his collation of Pandit Gana Kak's manuscripts and Pandit Sahebram's



explanatory treatises and abstracts. The new materials Buhler collected from the various *Sharada* manuscripts then available in Kashmir, enabled him to restore the text to a much greater degree of purity than could ever be done with the help of *Devanagari* manuscripts. But a small number of doubtful passages still remained because all *Sharada* manuscripts known to exist then in Kashmir were derived from a single copy which was about 150 years old. This was the manuscript of Pandit Kesavram that Buhler called, *Codex Archetypus*. It was an ancient *Sharada* paper manuscript written by an ancestor Pandit Sivaram of the present owner. Pandit Kesavram informed Buhler that it was the manuscript from which Moorcroft's transcript was made earlier in 1823.

Buhler did not believe the statement to be completely true because he believed that Moorcroft's copy was said to have been made from a birch bark volume. Buhler tried frantically to locate the birch bark manuscript. The Pandits made great efforts to find for him a birch bark manuscript, even for the loan of which he offered considerable sum. But they possessed none and were unable to procure one. It was, however, Pandit Chandram who told Buhler with a sorrowful face that some years ago he had found remnants of a birch bark manuscript among his father's books and that he had thrown them into the Jhelum, for reasons Buhler recorded, "It is customary in Kashmir to throw remnants of books into the river in order to preserve the face of *Sarasvati* from defilement". One can only regret such compulsions of the time then prevailing in Kashmir or ignorance of Pandit Chandram "as he had thought they were of no value". This was the only news of *Bhurja* manuscript of the *Rajatarangini* which Buhler received and he feared that, "there is very little chance of any being found hereafter".

The remaining dated Kashmiri poems contained in Buhler's collection were the manuscripts of *Rajatarangini*



of Jonaraja and Srivara which belonged to the 15th century and *Rajavalipataka* of Prajyabhatta which was composed after Akbar's conquest of the valley. To this was also added *Subahushitavali* and *Kathakutaka* of Srivara. Srivara's *Subahushitavali* is of great interest for the history of Indian literature. His *Kathakutaka* is a collection of stories translated from the Persian. The collection contained further some poems which were written by Kashmiri authors of uncertain date. These included *Anandakavya*, *Ravanarjuniya* and *Stutikusumanjali*.

The *Anandakavya* is a work like *Ramkrishankavya*, each verse of it has two meanings. Bhimabhatta's *Ravanarjuniya* illustrates the rules of grammar. The *Stutikusumanjali* is a highly esteemed poem in praise of *Shiva*. Buhler also collected manuscripts of Indian poets with or without Kashmiri commentaries. The prize piece of this collection was *Bhurja* manuscript of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* which was the fourth redaction of this famous play ever discovered. He also collected the manuscript of Bana's *Harshacharita* and its commentary, the *Yudhiṣṭhirakavya* of Vasudeva and *Prithvirajavijya*, a historical work describing the victories of famous Chahumana Prithviraja of Ajmer and Delhi in 1193 A.D.. Buhler also collected Vamana's well known *Kavyalankaravritti*, Anandavardhana and Ratanākara's works, the *Dhvanyaloka* and *Kavyaloka*. Their works contained the quotes of the following poets and writers Alamkara, Kalidasa, Pundarika, Bana and Sarvasena. According to Buhler a bad copy of *Dhvanyaloka* was procured by Prof. Aufrecht who deposited the same in India Office Library, Oxford. The manuscript collection also contained the works of great *Shiva* philosopher, *Mahamahesvaracharya*. Abhinavagupta, who wrote in the last quarter of the 10th and in the first half of the 11th century. Like many other holy men of the east this saint did not disdain secular poetry and gained a reputation in *Alamkarasastra* as in the *Saivadarsana*. His work on poetics,



the *Lochana* is very profound and difficult commentary on Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyaloka*. It contains quotations from and mentions by name the following authors and works, the Induraja, Tuta, Dharmottan, *Dharmottamavinischayatika*, *Manaratha* and *Bhartrihari*. He also collected *Kavyalamkaras* which give a complete view of the Indian speculations on poetical composition. It is divided into sixteen *adhyayas* written in the *Arya*-metre. The other Kashmiri works on *Alamkaras* were authored by Alamkara Ratanakara and Alamkara Sekhara. The Kashmiri manuscript of *Kavyaparakasa* differed from the Indian *vulgata*.

The other *Sharada* manuscripts Buhler obtained included those belonging to Panini's school and take the precedence. He obtained three manuscripts of Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* after laborious enquiries. Buhler was particularly anxious to obtain a trustworthy and complete Kashmiri manuscript of the work in order to ascertain that Kashmir possessed a redaction different from the Indian one. When Buhler began the inquiries Pandits informed that *Bhashya* was not studied in Kashmir and that they knew only of two complete manuscripts of the work. One of these belonged to Pandit Kesavram and the other to the sons of late Pandit Sahebram. With some trouble, Buhler got the sight of both these copies and found that they were *Devanagari* manuscripts brought from India. Kesavram's copy had been imported into the valley by a Pandit of Baramulla who had resided sometime in Benaras. His heirs had sold it for one hundred rupees to its present owner. After this transfer had been effected, Pandit Sahebram also obtained a copy from Punjab. Both these copies were not older than 50 to 60 years.

Buhler was keen only to obtain a birch bark manuscript of the work. He told his Pandit friends, "that I neither desire to acquire *Devanagari* manuscripts nor to have them copied and that you must hunt for *Bhurja* or old *Sharada* paper manuscripts". Pandits grumbled a good deal and



complained of Buhler's unreasonableness. Buhler persisted with his desire. After some time, three birch bark manuscripts became part of his collection. All the three were more than 100 years old and most probably copied from an older *Bhurja* manuscript. Just before Buhler was leaving Kashmir he heard that such manuscripts had been found in the library of an ignorant *Brahmin* who believed it to be a manuscript of the *Kathasaritasagara* and used it as was frequently done with the manuscript of that work, for purposes of divination. Efforts to obtain the book failed the obliging Buhler. For the ignorant *Brahmin* possession of the book was pious.

The manuscript of *Hasikavritti* was a real gem in Buhler's collection. It was the most correct and the best written birch bark *Sharada* manuscript in his whole collection and almost without a lacuna. Buhler collated small portion of its contents with the help of Professor Balasastry. The author of the work was Jayaditya. Buhler was informed by Balasastry that he considered the author to be a *nastika* and a man of small grammatical learning who had not penetrated to the deepest depth of *Sastra*. Buhler also collected pieces of Jinendrabudhi's *Nyasa*. These were transcribed from a dilapidated birch bark volume belonging to Pandit Balkaul. Among the smaller works which made part of Buhler's collection included manuscripts explaining the appendices to Panini's grammar, the *Dhatupatha*, the *Nipatavyayaupasargapatha* and *Lingasutras*. The collection also included *Laghuvritti* by Chhuchehhukabhata, *Balabodhini* by Jagaddhara and *Sishyahitanyasa* by Ugrabhatta.

As regards the works of *Prakrit* grammar, Buhler obtained copies of *Prakritaprakasa* and of its *tika*. The two manuscripts were unfortunately not very good and had been apparently copied from a mutilated birch bark volume and the leaves of which had lost pieces.

Among the remaining manuscripts included *Unadivritti*,



*Dasapadi*, *Kantrakaumudi*, *Padaprakaranasamgati* and *Vyakhanaprakriya*. Among the *Koshas*, the most important work was of Kshemendravayasadasa, the copy of which is now believed to be preserved in Berlin library. Kshemendra the poet was a practical man who loved to describe the actual daily life of his times. He shows this in the *Kalavilasa* and *Samayamatrika*. Exactly the same spirit, pervades the *Lokaprakasa*. This work gives a great amount of information on the daily life of Hindus. He gives forms of *hundies* or the letters of exchange, bonds and the like, the titles of most of the Kashmiri officials and in some cases with explanations a list of *Parganas* into which Kashmir was divided. The importance of such information cannot be underrated as all other *Koshakaras* lived too high in the clouds of *Sastras* and of poetry to care about such trivial matters as with geography, administration and commerce of their country. Buhler regretted nothing more than that he could obtain only two copies of the work in his collection list and that commentary was not to be had because the two copies were too bad to allow an edition to be made. Buhler offered his Kashmiri friends a considerable reward for procuring a good manuscript and requested Pandit Damodar to write a commentary on the book.

Buhler's *Kosha* collection included *Srikanthacharita* by Manakha and *Prasastabhashya* by Prasasta. Among the few *Vedanta* works from Kashmir, the commentary on the *Bhagavad Geeta* the only work which drew Buhler's attention because its author was the famous Shaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta, was part of the collection.

The works placed in the class of *Siva* philosophy and *Tantras* were composed by Kashmiri scholars under the general name of *Shivasutra*. But in reality they belonged to several distinct *Sastras* which all drew their origin from the *Shiva* tree. Buhler's collection included *Dikshanidhi* which was commonly called in Kashmir as *Kaladiksha*. It also included works on *Nitya*, *Naimittika* and *Kamyakriyas*



i.e. rites which a *Shaiva* has to perform daily or on a particular occasion or in order to obtain particular benefits. The works on the *Tantrika Anushthanasa*, the magic rites which also are *Kamyā* rites and closely resembled them included the collection.

Buhler also collected works referring to *Spandasāstra* of Vasugupta and *Pratyabhijnasāstra* of Somananda and Utpala. There were also few manuscripts of *Saiva Agamas* and pieces of two *sūtras* the *Kula* and *Vatula*. The *Karamikriyakanda* was authored by Sasiva the *guru* of Somasambha. In the colophon of the work he identified his *paramguru* as Issana. The *Saiva Darsana* was represented by *Pratyabhijnadarsana* authored by Sayana. A few copies of *Spandasūtras* and *Spandkarikas* of Utpala also made part of the collection. The government collection also included works like *Lallavakyani*, the *Banasuravadha*, the *Krishnavatara* and *Janamacharita*. All these works in Sanskrit titles were written in *Sharada* characters. The oldest was the *Lallavakya*, a poem on *Saiva* philosophy by saint poetess, Lalla followed by *Banasuravadha*. Buhler regretted, as these two works were not easy for him to make out even with the help of Sanskrit translations. Munshiyar Mohammad, the Kashmiri teacher of Dr. Elmslie, who also assisted Buhler refused to meddle with them. The Pandits said they understood the works but could not explain them at once when asked to do so.

Georg Buhler succeeded in making out only a few verses here and there. Summing up the collection catalogue of these *Sharada* manuscripts, he made the following remark regarding the Kashmiri language and the manuscripts containing works written in Kashmiri.

"Kashmiri is a *Prakrit*, one of the languages descended from Sanskrit or rather from one of the dialects out of which the classical Sanskrit was formed".

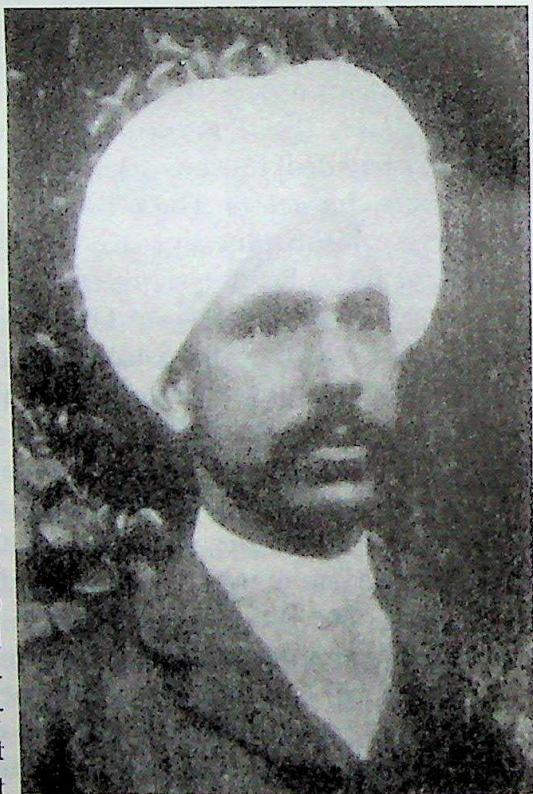
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## Missionaries and the Modern Education

The pattern of the education which was given in schools and colleges of India began late in Kashmir. The Mission School that was established by the Europeans in Kashmir and which followed a university curriculum was first established by Rev. J.S. Doxey in 1881 with just five boys on its rolls, amongst which included Pandit Narayan Das, Pandit Anand Kaul and Pandit Shivnarayan Bhan. It was a good beginning and Doxey content at having taken the first step in this direction continued with his labours for a desirable expansion for next two years when he was succeeded by Rev. Hinton Knowles. Pandit Narayan Das, who belonged to a respectable Kashmiri family, was one of first five pupil of Doxey to learn English from him. Declining to enter the traditional profession of quill-driving, he after leaving the school set up a small store that catered to the needs of Europeans who



*Pandit Anand Kaul; b. 1867 d. 1941. A pioneer of the movement which transformed Kashmiris from medievalistic to modern society.*





Photograph showing an open-air classroom being conducted by Professor Nityanand Shastri  
Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, 1919 A.D.



visited Kashmir. However, his shop was burnt down in a fire and finding it difficult to obtain a suitable alternative shop to run his business, he moved to run his activity in a different form. 'Doonga' served as a better shop since it could be moored in convenient and central place to the visitors. But the rain and snow of harsh Kashmir winters caused a lot of damage to his store. He chanced upon an idea of protecting his 'Doonga' with planks of wood instead of matting on the roof. Then, first of such type of boat was afloat. A British officer took to the fancy of purchasing it. Narayan Das sold it at a handsome profit. Soon he realized that boat building was better business than running a store and gradually became a prosperous, premier boat builder of Kashmir. His ideas were later improved upon by R. Sartorius, R. Harvey Bart and it was left to the innovative imagination of Martym Kennard that first modern houseboat was made and put afloat on Kashmir waters. Rev. J. Hinton Knowles worked hard and with his untiring zeal and tact, the school made rapid progress. Apart from his school duties Knowles got interested in the learning of Kashmir language and its folklore. The outcome of his labour was a *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*. It was published in 1885 and the whole profit of the work was devoted to the sorely strained funds of the Medical Mission Hospital, Kashmir. Summing up the work Knowles wrote, "A winter in Kashmir must be experienced to be realized. The air is most invigorating and quiet is sublime. Even an ordinary busy missionary enjoys much leisure through such a season in this country. I have now spent two long quiet winters here and this dictionary of Kashmiri proverbs and sayings is the result of many hours of labours, study and anxiety during these leisurable months. As a missionary on arriving in the valley, I at once devoted my attention to the study of language and believing that proverbs taught the real people's speech, discovered the genius, wit and spirit of a nation and embodied its current



practical philosophy. I quickly began to make a collection of them. This book I believe contains nearly all the proverbs and proverbial sayings now extant in Kashmiri people. They have been gathered from various sources. Sometimes the learned Pandit instinctively uttered a proverb in my hearing, sometimes I got a barber to tell me a thing or two as he polled my head and sometimes a poor coolie said something worth knowing, as carrying my load he tramped along before me. A few learned, Muhamaden and Hindu friends also have materially helped me in this collection and its arrangement. I have been through them all with little council of learned Muhamaden and Hindu Kashmiri friends and not allowed one to pass until I got their full and undivided attention to my explanation of it". In this task Knowles had the able assistance of Pandit Anand Kaul. Following this association, Knowles appointed Anand Kaul as the first Headmaster of the school.

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## Stein's Arrival

Georg Buhler left India and proceeded straight to Vienna. At Vienna a young Hungarian by the name Marc Aurel Stein studied under him. After receiving his Ph.D. in 1883 with laudatory commendations from both, Rudolph von Roth and Georg Buhler, Stein received stipend from Hungarian government to cover two years of post-doctoral research in oriental languages and archaeology at the universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge (1884-1886). Stein lost no time in getting to London and there one of the first men Stein called on was Dr. Theodore Duka (1825-1908), a corresponding member of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who earlier had a stint in Indian Medical Services in 1854. A frequent guest in the Duka home, Stein there met two men each of whom had won Knighthood and an appointment to the powerful Indian Council. They were Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810-1895) and Sir Henry Yule (1820-1889).

Duka's early faith in young friend Stein steadied into a lasting friendship. As Stein's grant term was drawing to a close, Stein wished to proceed to India. Of the influences that directed Stein to India it can safely be singled out to the reason of importance of philological studies nineteenth century scholarship had given it. The other bridge to India was furnished by the life and labours of the Hungarian scholar Csoma-de-Koros and moulding impression he developed from his association with Theodore Duka. Stein was impressed by Csoma's life and always felt indebted to his works and also felt something special and musing on the parallel between Csoma and himself. He saw the hand of fate in the guise of warning given to Csoma at Leh. His destiny invited him to India.





# The University of the Punjab.

## ORIENTAL FACULTY.

SESSION 322

This is to certify that Nitya Nand  
son of Madhava Kartik and a student of  
the Rajkumar Path, Binagar has passed the Ticharad (High Pro-  
ficiency in Sanskrit Language and Literature) Examination of the  
Panjab University.

He stood Second in order of merit.

SENATE HALL,  
LAHORE:  
The 21<sup>st</sup> May 1892.

*A. K. K.*  
REGISTRAR  
Panjab University.



Sir Henry Rawlinson suggested to the Indian Council that the young Hungarian was eminently qualified to fill the dual vacancy of Registrar of Punjab University and Principal of newly-founded Oriental College at Lahore. Endorsed by Sir Henry Yule the suggestion was quickly implemented. Thus with no delay Stein left his student days behind him and saying farewell to his family was on his way to India. At the end of 1887, Stein took passage to India, passing through the Suez Canal, then a relatively new wonder to first set his foot on Asian soil.

On his very first Indian vacation after the college was over, Stein fled, the 'grey oven' of Lahore for Srinagar, the 'Venice of India' as the metropolis of Kashmir was called. June 8, 1888 at 6 p.m., Stein was received after announcing his plan of arrival by the European educated Kashmir Governor, Dr. Suraj Kaul. He was informed by Stein of his intention to acquire Sanskrit manuscripts. Stein had the recommendations of his Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Rattigon. It might have been that Buhler's stay in India gave Stein the idea that he too might achieve professorship by taking the same circuitous path via an Indian college. However, what is certain is that he was following Buhler's example when he headed straight for Kashmir to find the particular manuscript *Codex Archetypus* whose existence Buhler had established.

Following the opening meeting between Aurel Stein and Dr. Suraj Kaul, acknowledged by gifts of lauds of fruits, flowers and vegetables, it also gave Stein promise and hope to influence Pandits part with their possession of Sanskrit manuscripts. Within two days Governor Suraj Kaul had arranged for the meetings of Pandits in his home. Maharaja's brother Raja Ram Singh honoured it with his presence. Stein was introduced to the Prince who knew Sanskrit. After this, the most educated of Kashmiri Pandits greeted Stein in Sanskrit. Stein engaged himself in animated discussion of his suggestion on topics in Sanskrit, gave





Pandit Nitayanand Shastri at Aurel Stein's Camp site Mohand Marg, Kaslmir, 1912.



Pandits confidence in his intentions. Later in the evening Pandits came with manuscripts. Most manuscripts were modern copies of well known works. The Pandits were impressed with Stein's familiarity with the field. He secured three manuscripts each at least four hundred years old written on birch bark. These treasures brought from outlying villages had escaped Buhler's eagle eye. A fortnight of Stein's vacations slipped in the scrutiny of manuscripts. For most of them he made short notes after hurried examination so as to identify those of the greatest importance. With each came the hope that it would be the desired copy of the chronicle.

He punctuated the long hours spent in his office tent with short excursions wandering through lovely deserted overgrown Mughal gardens and visiting nearby Hindu temple ruin sights now converted to Muslim shrines. Every thing charmed him, even the problems. Going through the manuscripts Stein identified that Sanskrit characters in Kashmir differed considerably from those customary in India and difficult to read. However, he was quickly accustomed to it as well as Sanskrit pronunciation of the Pandits. Stein was doing what he had wanted to do in a place he had wanted to be in and he was greatly successful. Only one flaw marred the excitement of his first visit to Kashmir. The *archetype* he had hoped to find was not forthcoming. Nor could he stay there and wait for it to appear.

Next in his planned tour of the princely kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir was a visit to the palace of the Maharaja. He devoted last ten days of his vacations to the library there, which until then had not had a scientific examination. In 1877 when Buhler had published his catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in private libraries this collection was not made available to a European. In attempting to penetrate it, Stein was in the tracks of his great mentor Professor Georg Buhler and took pains in



approaching the project. Mr. Tupper, Secretary of State for Punjab, was gracious to inform Stein that his request was submitted to the State Council of Jammu and Kashmir urging them to open the library to him so that he could catalogue it. The suggestion had the desired effect.

For the alpine nature of Kashmir, Stein felt doubly grateful. Its mountain grit and loveliness had insured its historical isolation, a seclusion that fostered its remarkable tenacity of tradition preserving local lore, religious cults and social customs. It was to his Pandits' fine scholarship that he owed this view into the past of Kashmir but it was his own scholarship and his manner of assuring that as men devoted to semi-intellectual pursuits they belong to the common brotherhood that won him friends among the Pandits.

In August 1888 a few days after his arrival in Srinagar Stein had met Pandit Govind Kaul. He was quick to notice the other Kashmiri Pandits who had special interest in antiquity. These were Pandit Mukandram and Pandit Sahaz Bhat. In all this, Stein was helped by Pandit Damodar whom Buhler had known and recommended. The time had arrived for a racy interaction. A son of Europe, Stein had found an alpine home in Kashmir. He chose Mohand Marg. He had also found his Kashmiri collaborators. After the delights of 'Venice of India' and the sense of accomplishment his weeks of work in Kashmir gave him, it was hard for Stein to leave Srinagar. Stein wrote, "It is difficult to tear myself away from my learned Kashmiri friends and everything else that have fascinated me"

October 1, 1888. Stein had a boat ride in the evening sun accompanied by Kashmiri Pandits. He glided down the river under seven bridges and took farewell from the city of happiness. He felt choked with emotions. At one after the other at different landings his Pandit friends left him. The last was Pandit Govind Kaul whom he had come to value for his erudition based on truly historical sense.



Stein took a relief since Pandit Govind Kaul had decided to accept his invitation to join him at Lahore so that the two could collaborate. By the time Pandit Govind Kaul had mounted the broad steps of Ramjiv's temple and left the boat it was dark. Soon the last houses in the city had fallen behind. Lying in the quiet boat, it was long before sleep came to Stein. His mind was filled with sad thoughts. Stein had fallen irrevocably in love with the green paradise of Kashmir. In Govind Kaul, he had found the Kashmiri Pandit scholar whose erudition was to be essential to the translation and editing of *Rajatarangini* on which they would work together over the next decade. Their commitment to the exacting scholarship brought with it a mutual respect and their joint efforts, a lasting friendship. The year 1889 was tragic to Stein due to the grievous blows that fate wrecked on him on the family front, when in fairly quick succession he lost his mother, father and uncle. It was, however, also the year when his scholarship as a Sanskritist he embarked upon to make, enabled him to make a mark in his career.

### Reference

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## Stein Encounters Nityanand

For a decade from 1888 to 1899, Stein stayed at Lahore and during that time he held the dual positions of Principal, Oriental College and Registrar, Punjab University. These positions enforced on him the task of both teaching and administration. However in the scanty furloughs by grants of leave and deputation he obtained the much needed time to produce his oriental works namely the editions of *Rajatarangini* and Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of the Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu. During this time he met many distinguished Kashmiri scholars such as Ishwar Kaul, Damodar, Govind Kaul, Mukandram and Sahaz Bhat and with whose collaborative help he had completed the above indicated works. These works established him both as a Sanskritist and a historian. However, there was one more facet to his academic indulgence at Lahore and that was teaching students and identifying the talent.

Till 1906, Kashmir did not have a regular college for higher education. The education was imparted in traditional *pathshalas*



Photograph of the medal awarded by Kashmir Dharam Sabha to Pandit Nityanand Shastri for high proficiency in Sanskrit, 1898 A.D.





Photograph of the medal awarded to Pandit Nityanand Shastri by the Governor of Kashmir for standing 1st in English examination of Punjab University, Lahore, 1902 A.D.

and through private tutelage to *Gurus* and much of it through self-learning. The promising student had to find his way to Lahore under the care of Punjab University for pursuing higher education and securing regular university degrees. Among the Kashmiri Pandit students at Lahore who attracted Stein's serious attention was Nityanand. This was the student first, friend and co-worker to Stein later. A note dated June 29, 1928, written by Stein to Sir G.E.C. Wakefield, the then

Development Minister to the Jammu and Kashmir State and later the Prime Minister, confirms the fact. "Pandit Nityanand was one of the first Kashmiri students who acquired the Shastri degree in the Punjab University and it was on the occasion when he presented himself at Lahore in 1892 for his examinations that I being then Principal, Oriental College of the Punjab University first made his acquaintance".

### Reference

1. D.O. Note, dated June 29, 1928 by Sir Aurel Stein to Sir G.E.C. Wakefield, Development Minister, Jammu & Kashmir.



## The Motif of Rajatarangini

The motif of *Rajatarangini* had three movements in the hands of Stein. The first was Sanskrit edition edited with Pandit Govind Kaul in 1892, second the Memoir of Ancient Geography of Kashmir in 1899, since for a full comprehension of Kalhana's chronicle a minute study of the ancient geography was indispensable and, third, the masterly two-volume, *Rajatarangini* translated into English with introduction, commentary and appendices published in 1900 and dedicated to the memory of Georg Buhler.

The plan to edit Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* first suggested itself to Stein in the summer of 1888, when he visited Srinagar. *Rajatarangini* is the oldest written authority of the history of various dynasties which ruled Kashmir from the earliest period down to Kalhana's own time. Professor Wilson had published in 1825 the first account of Kalhana's work from the abstract of six cantos. This was based on three incomplete *Devanagari* manuscripts. Ten years later in 1835 *Editio Princeps* published from Bengal Asiatic Society by Troyer was based on *Devanagari* transcript from Kashmir manuscripts that had been prepared for Willam Moorcroft during that traveller's stay in Srinagar in 1823. Troyer's edition with translations later also was published by Societea Asiatique in Paris in 1840. All these editions conspicuously brought before Sanskritists the great defects of the text upon which they were based. The defects did not escape the notice of scholars like Professor Lassen and General Cunningham who endeavoured to use Kalhana's work for the purpose of historical and chronological research.

No effort was made to get better material till Professor Georg Buhler's tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in



Kashmir in 1875. The acquaintance gained with genuine text of *Rajatarangini* by collation of good and thorough modern *Sharada* manuscripts and discovery of materials for its explanations in other Kashmiri works like *Nilamatapurana* and various *Mahatmyas* enabled Buhler to clearly recognise the fact that all manuscripts known to exist in Kashmir then were derived from a single manuscript called by him *Codex Archetypus*. But he had not been able to obtain more than a glimpse of this ancient manuscript from the owner Pandit Kesavram in whose family it had come down as heirloom.

Following further matters, Stein during his prolonged stay in Srinagar in his endeavour to contribute on the interpretations of the work obtained two manuscripts. The first was in the possession of Pandit Balbhadra Razdan which was copied in the first quarter of the 19th century and another manuscript copied around the same time from *Codex Archetypus* was in possession of Pandit Govind Kaul. The careful collation of these two manuscripts in the cold season of 1888-1889 indicated many discrepancies between them. This convinced Stein still more the necessity of securing the *Codex Archetypus*. The manuscript was traced to be earlier in possession of Pandit Kesavram whose death had taken place after Buhler had visited Kashmir and thereafter the *Codex Archetypus* had been divided among three of his sons and this circumstance had made access to the manuscript still more difficult than in 1875.

It was not until repeated visits to Srinagar in 1889 that the whole manuscript was collected by Stein from the owners. Stein's success in this regard was chiefly due to the kind interest shown in the matter by Pandit Suraj Kaul, Member of Kashmir State Council. Stein also sought the help of the son of Suraj Kaul, Pandit Hari Krishan Kaul, who was his pupil earlier. Their timely aid had made it possible to secure the contents of this venerable *codex* against the risks which its worn and decaying leaves had



so long been exposed to. According to Stein, "both these gentlemen well deserved the thanks of all interested in the ancient history of Kashmir".

The *codex*, the use of which had been obtained with so much trouble, was nearly lost on Stein's voyage to England in 1890. The box which contained it was dropped over board in the Ostende harbour through the carelessness of a Flemish porter and recovered with difficulty. However, fortunately, Stein had his collation of the complete text safely packed elsewhere also. Happily too, the soaking with seawater left no perceptible trace in the *codex*. Kashmir paper of the old make on which the *codex* was written, stood immersion remarkably well and the ink used in the manuscript was in no way affected by water. The owners when they received back in 1892 their respective parts had no inkling of the lustration the *codex* had undergone. The *Codex Archetypus* contained all eight cantos of Kalhana's poem. It consisted of 328 folia of age-worn country paper. One leaf in the middle (folio 167) and also the leaf at the end (folio 328) had also been lost probably when the partition of it was made between Pandit Kesavram's sons.

The leaves which varied in their dimensions measured on an average 9½" by 6½" and written like all Kashmiri manuscripts in lines parallel to narrower side. The number of lines per page varied from 15 to 20. The leaves formed in two were from one sheet. Such arrangement of leaves appeared as bound in a book fashion upto folio 166 but the remaining parts were mostly loose sheets. No date was indicated in colophon but fortunately the writer of *codex* Pandit Ratnakantharajanaka had recorded his name.

Ratnakantha called himself the son of Rajanaka Samakarakantha of *Dhaumyayana Gotra* and inhabitant of the land which is purified by the dust from the lotus feet of *Sharada* i.e. Kashmir. Of this legendary scholar Stein wrote, "The memory of Rajanakaratnakantha still lives in Kashmiri Pandit tradition as that of a great scholar and a



fast writer. The latter fact accounts for the considerable number of manuscripts written by him which are still extant in Kashmirian libraries both in and outside the valley. His handwriting as it appears there with its very cursive and peculiar characters presents unusual difficulties even to the practised reader of *Sharada* writing. It seems to me very probable that Ratnakantha wrote his copy of the *Rajatarangini* at a comparatively advanced age and like the majority of his manuscripts chiefly for his own use". Informed by his Pandit friends in illustration of the above tradition, Stein further wrote, "When Ratnakantha was a youth and still at school he used to write out the whole text which his teacher had expounded during a fortnight on the single day closing the *Paksha* which is a regular holiday of the orthodox Brahman instruction. He is credited with having been able habitually to write six hundred *slokas* per day. On one occasion he is supposed to have accomplished even a greater feat. Resting during the middle of the day at *Gambhirasamgama* on a journey from Srinagar to Vijabror, Ratnakantha is believed to have presented to his companion with a copy of *Bhagvada Gita* which he had written while the latter had busied himself with a meal. Ratnakantha's name in its Kashmiri form *Ratha Razdan* (Rajanaka) still lives in proverbial saying often heard among the Pandits, *yim gai Ratha Razdani achhar* (these are *Ratha Razdan's* letters). It is used of hurried writing difficult to read"

While collecting various Kashmir *Sharada* manuscripts Stein's caché included birch manuscripts of *Kavyaprakasasamketa* written by same Rajanakaratantha which was dated *Saka* 1570 corresponding to 1648 A.D. Other manuscripts from his hand which Stein had purchased included manuscript of Rayamukta's commentary on *Amarkosa* of *Saka* 1577 (1655 A.D.) and manuscript of Trilochanadasa's *Katantrapanchka* written in *Saka* 1595 (1673 A.D.). Stein also possessed with him



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manuscript of commentary to *Harivijayakavya* named *Laghupanchka* written in Ratnakantharajanaka's own hand which indicated the author to be the son of Rajanakasamkarakantha of *Dhaumyayana Gotra* and states the year of composition as *Saka* 1603 (1681 A.D.). Professor Georg Buhler had also shown in his Report, Rajanakaratnakantha's works namely well known commentary on Jagadhara's *Kusmanjali* called *Laghupanchka* and commentary of Sisya-hita on *Yudhishtiravijayakavya*. In the introduction of the first commentary the work is indicated to be composed in *Saka* 1602 (1680 A.D.). The commentary of *Yudhishtirakavya* was written when Aurangzeb ruled in *Saka* 1593 (1671 A.D.). The dates recorded above of works composed by Rajanakaratnakantha ranged from A.D. 1648 to A.D. 1681 and Stein therefore most certainly arrived at his conclusion that *codex* of *Rajatarangini* was written by him sometime about this period.

Stein with the help of his Kashmiri scholars made a diligent search in 1888-1889 with a view to discover if possible an older manuscript of *Rajatarangini* which might prove independent of Ratnakantha's *codex* but the endeavours produced no better results than Buhler's effort in 1875. Thus all Kashmir manuscripts of *Rajatarangini* previewed by Stein were known to be recent transcripts from Ratnakantha's *codex*. Among these copies were also those belonging to Pandit Balbhadra Razdan and Pandit Govind Kaul. Stein consulted these two manuscripts for reference on account of defective state of the *codex*. The manuscript of Pandit Balbhadra Razdan contained 353 folia carefully written on modern paper and as indicated in colophon written by Goverdhana Bhatta of *Yaksha* family. The colophon shows written *Laukika* 99, which corresponded to A.D. 1823. Bhatta Goverdhana's copy is well written but by no means free from mis-readings and blunders.



The other manuscript copied from the *archetypus* and which was in the possession of Pandit Govind Kaul resembled in its appearance to Balbhadra Pandit's manuscript but the name of the copyist is not given but the similarity of the writings made it possible that it was also copied by Bhatta Goverdhana Yaksha in the early 19th century. This manuscript had many emendations from the hand of Govind Kaul which according to Stein, "testified to ample learning and acumen of Pandit Govind Kaul".

It is interesting to note that the copy which Moorcroft had obtained read "for *Sri Murkraphka Sahiba* obtained from the Annals of Kings of Kashmir from learned Sivaram who is praised for having preserved in his house the only copy of work in Kashmir". Pandit Sivaram was commonly called as Sivopadhyaya and was the grandfather of Kesavram in whose possession Buhler had found the *Codex Archetypus*. Having completed the collation and authoritative version of *Codex Archetypus* with the help of Kashmiri scholars, Stein made a visit to Europe in the summer of 1890 and submitted the materials he had collected to the discerning eye of his mentor Professor Georg Buhler.

Buhler granted his valuable advice in all questions to the proposed edition of *Rajatarangini*. Equipped with best from Buhler's advice and guidance, Stein returned to India in the autumn of 1890 to proceed with the edition. But Stein conceded that correct comprehension of Kalhana's text was unattainable without correct interpretations of Kashmiri topics and without the help of local Pandits.

Among those who assisted Stein in this great task, two names stand out, one of Pandit Govind Kaul and the other Pandit Mukandram. Stein recorded a fulsome tribute for these great Kashmiri scholars. "Among those who have assisted me in carrying out this task I must mention in the first place Pandit Govind Kaul of Srinagar whose help in connection with *Rajatarangini* I was fortunate enough to secure during my first visit to Kashmir. Pandit Govind



Kaul accompanied me to Lahore in 1888 and has since rendered me very valuable assistance in communicating oral traditions of Kashmirian Pandits as well as the results of his own researches on many points connected with Kalhana's narrative and with ancient topography of the country. Pandit Govind Kaul's spirit of scientific enquiry and his thorough acquaintance with the history and geography of his country which attracted already in 1875 the notice of Professor Buhler have enabled him to find new explanations to many difficult passages of *Rajatarangini*. These explanations which will be duly noticed in the second volume have frequently influenced me in the selection of readings for my text. I owe to Pandit Govind Kaul a careful collation of the manuscript which was made before I obtained the use of *archetypus*. Pandit Govind Kaul's aid has also facilitated my collating the *archetypus* for the first half of the text and when his subsequent absence from Lahore prevented him from assisting me further in this task, he still continued to render valuable help in connection with the reading of proofs. I have received equally useful assistance for the second half of the text from a younger Kashmiri scholar Pandit Mukandram who also prepared under my direction provisional indices to the *Rajatarangini* of which I have availed myself with advantage when revising the texts of cantos VI to VIII. I am indebted to both scholars for much information on Kashmirian topics without which correct comprehension of Kalhana's text is unattainable and I gladly take this opportunity to thank them publicly for unflagging zeal and industry which they have shown in collecting it. I trust the services they have thus rendered to all students of chronicle of Kashmir will meet with due recognition in their own country".

It was indeed a great testimony for considerable erudition of Kashmiri scholars. Not only Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Mukandram Shastri placed the resource



of their great learning at the disposal of Stein for the edition of *Rajatarangini*, he was also to avail himself benefit from the great learning of his friend Pandit Damodar, Head Pandit of the Maharaja's *Pathshala* at Srinagar. However, it was merely the distance at which Stein and Damodar were placed from each other, one at Lahore and the other at Srinagar, that did not allow Stein to appeal him as frequently as he would have wished to Damodar's wide learning in matters relating to the text of Kalhana.

Acknowledging Pandit Damodar's help Stein observed, "Pandit Damodar possesses a very intimate acquaintance with all that the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir have produced and is thus perhaps better qualified than anybody else to expound the intricacies of Kalhana's style". But alas the profound scholar Pandit Damodar, whom Buhler also had encountered earlier in 1875 and whose erudition had impressed him so much that when Stein came to Kashmir in 1888, he sought for him first as per the recommendations of his *guru*, fell victim to the epidemic that was raging in Srinagar in May, 1892.

Paying tribute to Pandit Damodar for labours he had bestowed on the Kalhana's text, Stein recorded, "At the time these pages are passing through the press news reaches me that this most learned and amiable of all Kashmirian scholars has fallen victim to the epidemic now raging the valley. By the death of Pandit Damodar whose scholarly acquirements and poetic gifts was *facile princeps* among the Pandits of Srinagar, Sanskrit learning in Kashmir has suffered a service loss. My lamented friend had set himself the task of continuing the *Rajatarangini* from the time of Akbar to the present date and from what I have seen of the parts composed, I may say that had he been spared to complete it, his work would have shown that Kalhana could have found for generations past no worthier successor".

The efforts of the combined labour of Stein, Govind



Kaul, Mukandram and Damodar bore the final fruit when the Sanskrit edition of *Rajatarangini* appeared in press in June 1892, in Bombay. Stein dedicated the work to His Highness Maharaja Pratap Singh as a slight mark of his deep gratitude and respect. Stein did not fail to acknowledge the help and grant extended by the kindness of Raja Amar Singh, then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. He expressed his thanks to Colonel W.F. Prideaux, the then Resident of Kashmir for recommending his work for the patronage of State Council.

Stein was awed with satisfaction of the completion of the task that had eluded his teacher Professor Georg Buhler. *Rajatarangini* had fascinated his keen orientalist mind. He made a promise. "I hope to give in the second volume of this edition exegetical notes on the text of the *Rajatarangini* with running commentary on those points of Kalhana's narrative which are of interest for the history, archaeology and topography of Kashmir. It will also contain an introduction to the work, complete indices and if possible a map showing ancient geography of Kashmir as ascertained from the *Rajatarangini* and other Kashmirian texts. The second volume will be published as soon as the scanty leisure I can spare from my teaching and office duties will permit me to complete the arrangement of the materials which I have collected during last four years".

Stein's promise had the strength of the execution. He was assured of the committed collaboration of Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Mukandram. He knew that with their help the task was within his means. The second scholarly weave in the motif of *Rajatarangini* was on the anvil.

After the publication of Sanskrit edition of *Rajatarangini* in 1892, Aurel Stein expressed the intention of embodying the materials he had collected for the interpretations of Kalhana's text in the form of commentary to be published as second volume. He had a necessity too. He was



convinced that the only way of testing his comprehension of Kalhana's text was for him to write down a close translation of it. Stein understood that such continuous rendering provided for simpler means of explaining and justifying his interpretations of the text than elaborate exegetical notes on difficult and doubtful passages. There seemed also good reason to assume that the complete English version would not only bring the contents of the chronicle within easier reach of all students interested in Kashmir and Indian history in general but would also render references to them far more convenient to fellow Sanskritists.

Heavy official labours and other literary duties did not allow Stein to approach this portion of his task until the summer of 1895 when an arrangement between the Kashmir *Darbar* and Punjab University adopted on the recommendations of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists secured him the necessary facilities. Stein availed himself two months of special duty and extended grants of summer vacations of 1895, 1896 and 1898 in which he was able to complete the annotated translation of the chronicle.

In the course of these enquiries Stein utilised to his best ability the special advantages for the study of ancient Kashmir. The antiquarian tours had not only enabled him to examine most of the ancient ruins but also allowed him to gain a thorough personal acquaintance with the topography of the country and its economic and ethnic conditions. But it was not alone in the unaltered features of topography and climate in the ruined structures and other antiquarian remains that so much of ancient Kashmir had summed to his day. The historical isolation of the country directly due to its alpine position had saved Kashmir from many changes which had elsewhere in India affected the condition of earlier periods. To this seclusion we owe Kashmir that remarkable tenacity of tradition which



whether in matter of local lore, in religious practice or in social customs proved a welcome help to Stein for the interpretation of the chronicle.

Stein was fortunate that he was able to conduct many of these enquiries and in particular those connected with Pandit traditions and customs and manners of Brahman population with the help of his friend and co-worker Pandit Govind Kaul of Srinagar. Of his help Stein wrote "Thoroughly imbued himself with the traditional spirit of his class and country and at the same time like some other distinguished Kashmiri scholars of earlier days possessed a keen eye for the realities of life. Pandit Govind Kaul held his storehouse of old world lore and learning ever open to me. The advantages I derived from it were not restricted to the ample information on the tradition and customs I gathered through him, they were equally great in other direction. All those who have had opportunities to study more closely Hindu thought and its products as well as its living inheritors know how deep the differences reach that separate it from Western thought whether classic or modern. It is the direct result of these differences that the Western interpreter of a text like *Rajatarangini* which treat so many aspects and relations of life is only too frequently liable to misapprehend the drift of author's thought even where his moods are plain and the subject matter sufficiently elucidated. In the absence of an indigenous commentary on the work it was no small assistance to me that I was able to test my interpretations wherever such doubts could arise by consulting Pandit Govind Kaul, a scholar so thoroughly versed in the traditional notion of Kalhana's country".

The critical materials acquired by Stein with the help, assistance and guidance of Pandit Govind Kaul for the Sanskrit edition of *Rajatarangini* appeared sufficient for use of textual translation and commentary as second volume. Stein himself observed, "I should have been obliged to







content myself with them also in preparing my translations had not a fortunate chance enabled me to secure fresh textual help in a place where I little expected it".

It was in April 1895 that Stein obtained, after a great deal of negotiation, access to a small and much neglected collection of Sanskrit manuscripts belonging to Pandit Jagmohan Lal Hund, a *Purohit* of Kashmiri descent temporarily resident in Lahore. Among the contents of miscellaneous bundle of manuscripts a few loose leaves of some *Devanagari* copy of *Rajatarangini* attracted his attention. He made a careful search in the confused rubbish representing the remainder of Jagmohan Lal Hund's library. The result was that greatest portion of the manuscript was recovered. At first it seemed to promise but little. The manuscript had been copied by a careless scribe from the original *Sharada* text which appeared to agree closely with that of *Codex Archetypus*.

A close examination of some detached leaves which happened to belong to canto VII revealed to Stein's surprise amidst many blunders and corruptions that there were also some readings manifestly superior to Ratnakantha's text. Stein accordingly prepared with the help of Pandit Govind Kaul a careful collation of the whole manuscript. This *Codex* consisted of about 316 leaves, of these many folia at the beginning and end and some assorted forty four leaves from other parts of the manuscript could not be traced by Stein. This manuscript was written on a brownish paper of Kashmir make and looked to be about 150 years old. The leaves were properly cut and arranged in *Samcayas* of eight folia each. They measured averagely 10" by 6½". The writing was enclosed in neatly drawn frame of coloured rulings in lines averaging twenty per page. The mode of writing was unlike Sanskrit manuscripts of India proper and faulty transcription from *Sharada* characters indicated that it was written in Kashmir or if outside the valley but still by a Kashmiri scribe.



Stein further ascertained from Pandit Jagmohan Lal Hund's *Vamsavali* or family tree that his great grandfather Pandit Natharam Hund had emigrated from Kashmir to Delhi probably in the third quarter of the 18th century. Pandit Natharam's son, Pandit Mukandram Hund, was a Sanskrit scholar of great attainments and lived in Lucknow about the end of the 18th century. A *Reacka* manuscript in *Sharada* characters which was copied for him at Ayodhya by a Kashmiri Pandit Lacharam was also seen by Stein in Jagmohan's library and bore the date *Laukika* 57 corresponding to A.D. 1781-1782. It seems thus chronologically possible that this Lahore manuscript of *Rajatarangini* was also copied from Delhi or Lucknow from original *Sharada* which Pandit Natharam, Jagmohan Lal Hund's emigrant ancestor had brought with him from Kashmir.

Sparing no efforts, both Stein and Govind Kaul served into the final result of these joint labours which at the end found mention with the publication of translated version of Kalhana's text with commentary, indices and maps in 1900. The work could not have been completed but for the help and support of others also. The State Council of Jammu and Kashmir was generous to grants of aid for the project. Successive British Residents of Kashmir, to name Colonel D.W.K. Brar, Mr. H. S. Barnes and Sir Adelbret Talbot, granted their support. Sir W.R. Lawrence, the former Settlement Commissioner of Kashmir, helped Stein and Pandit Govind Kaul with advice on modern conditions of the valley. However, the much important proof-reading for seeing the work through in press on which more than decade of exacting scholarly effort was spent by Pandit Govind Kaul and Stein with mutual respect and lasting friendship was ably done by Maurice Winternitz. The successful technical execution of maps of ancient Kashmir were mainly due to the cooperation of Major General J. Waterhouse, then Assistant Surveyor General of India and



specific third map showing the site of *Parihaspura* and the ancient confluence of *Vitasta* and *Sindhu* was done by Mr. W. Griggs.

With the preparation well started and turned to completion, a task that took ten years in the making, to sum up and review the results and labours put by himself and his co-worker Govind Kaul that extended over so long a period and so wide a field, emotionally it must have been hard for Stein to write *finis* to a study whose every point he had discussed with Pandit Govind Kaul.

Retiring to a quiet spot on 18th May, 1900, within the site of his beloved Mohand Marg, Stein settled undisturbed by intrusion of any kind to remember his lamented teacher Buhler and friend and co-worker Govind Kaul who had left him in the successive years of 1898 and 1899. Stein paid tributes to both. "The irreparable loss which the study of ancient India has suffered in so many directions by the untimely death of the great scholar Buhler has been felt too widely. The results which he achieved in his unceasing endeavours to lay open the true sources of early Indian history would alone suffice to make his name for ever memorable in the record of indologist research. In Kashmir it was he who first showed the right way to critical study of the history of country and the very task which I have endeavoured to solve had long before been planned by himself. Fate had denied me the hope for satisfaction of placing the completed works in the hands of the master who would have been its most competent judge. But assured of his opinion regarding the parts I have been able to submit I at least dedicate these volumes to his memory as a token of gratitude and admiration I shall ever cherish for him".

But Stein mourned that his friend Govind Kaul had died before he could see the completed work. "It is a source of true sorrow to me that this faithful assistant of my labours is no longer among the living. Pandit Govind Kaul



died at Srinagar in the summer of 1899, separated from me at the time by the whole breadth of India. I hope this public acknowledgement of his services will help to preserve the memory of a scholar who was worthy to maintain the learned traditions of the land of *Sharada*. The advantage I enjoyed by being able to gather valuable information on many points of the traditional and local lore of Kashmir through Pandit Govind Kaul of Srinagar was immense. This accomplished Kashmirian scholar who had already assisted me in collecting some of the critical materials embodied in my Sanskrit text of *Rajatarangini* continued to act as my amanuensis during the years I spent over their preparation of translation and commentary. By arranging the provisional Sanskrit indices for *Rajatarangini*, the later chronicles and other Kashmirian texts requiring constant reference, he lightened for me the burden which was inseparable to such task. The identification of Kalhana's numerous elusions to stories contained in *Mahabharata* and *Puranas* is mainly his work. I am also indebted to his aid for preliminary collation of Lahore manuscript of the chronicle which has enabled me to improve the critical constitution of the text underlying the translation".

Pandit Govind Kaul's death created a personal void in Stein's life. He poured his loss and pathos. July 13, 1899 – Calcutta. "The news which moved me very deeply and will remain a sorrow for a long time, my Pandit, Govind Kaul, my faithful co-worker since 1888, succumbed to a fever in Srinagar. From a confused communication I conclude that it was typhoid. A single letter earlier had reported the Pandit's illness but without preparing me for this great loss. The man was only about 50 years old. On my departure from Lahore nothing led me to conclude that it would be a separation for life. Since he could not be of further help to me on the *Rajatarangini*, I had arranged that the Asiatic Society would have him work on the Kashmiri Sanskrit Dictionary. It would have been a



monument to his erudition. You will understand that his premature death, a man who was my daily co-worker for ten years and for whose knowledge and character I had true respect, is effecting me very profoundly. *Requiescat in pace*".

Again a week later on July 20, Stein wrote, "The loss of Pandit Govind Kaul lies heavily on my heart. He died too early and I deeply feel the gap he has left in my Indian life". Some 20 years later he titled the preface to Hatim's Tales 'In Memoriam: Pandit Govind Kaul' even though he had previously acknowledged the great help his friend had given him to the text of *Rajatarangini* (1892) and to the Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Raghunath library (1894) and after his death to the translation of *Rajatarangini* (1900), Stein seized the last occasion to pay full tribute. He sketched in, Pandit Govind Kaul's background, born in 1846, son and grandson of scholars of high repute, universally respected and commanding social and political position in the Brahmin community of Srinagar. And now after his death thus spoke Stein of Govind Kaul, "My best Indian friend whenever he was by my side whether in the alpine peace of my beloved Kashmir mountains or in the dusty toil of our Lahore exile, I always felt in touch with past ages full of historical interest for the historical student of India". In August 1888 a few days after the arrival in Srinagar, Stein had met him. "I was quick to notice Pandit Govind Kaul's special interest in antiquarian objects. I was equally impressed by his dignified personality which combined the best qualities of the Indian scholars and gentlemen. A short archaeological tour which we made in country to sites around Dal Lake helped to draw us together in mutual sympathy and regard. So it was a great source of satisfaction when he accepted my offer to follow me to Lahore". And 24 years thereafter when Stein was knighted and stood at the pinnacle of his fame and success he recorded, "the first sure steps to the ladder that have led



me to the fame and success had been made with the friendship and help of Pandit Govind Kaul".

People. Names. Quick identifications, at the universities, at the hotels where he lived, at various functions small, medium, large, professional, personal, or social Stein met many people and of all those in Lahore by far the most interesting person for him was Lockwood Kipling (1837-1911) who had come to India first as Architectural Sculptor at Bombay museum and later became Curator of Lahore museum. And if Stein had a need of an example Lockwood Kipling "gave him the freedom to value such Indian scholars as Pandit Govind Kaul".

Completion of the work on *Rajatarangini* also ended a period in Stein's life. Looking back he saw that all his efforts to make the finished product worthy of his teacher Buhler and lamented friend Govind Kaul had also become the vehicle that brought him to the threshold of his new self-made career as a pioneer in Central Asian research.

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## Six Thousand Sanskrit Manuscripts

During the second part of holiday trip in Kashmir a week after leaving Srinagar, in August 1888, and leaving his Pandit friends, Stein arrived at Jammu which, situated at the foot of last mountain slopes towards the Punjab plain, surprised him with the experience of heat similar to Lahore. He carried the letters of recommendation by the Resident Mr. W.F. Prideaux and State Secretary for Maharaja for an access to private library of Sanskrit manuscripts of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in Raghunath Temple, Jammu. Stein's acquaintance to this collection of manuscripts in the Dogra capital had been drawn from Professor Buhler's reference to it.

The letters of recommendation had a fine effect. Stein was most cordially received by the Maharaja and his brother, Prince Amar Singh. Put up in the Dak Bungalow as the guest of court, Stein was allowed an elephant as a part of Royal transportation. However, it proceeded with grace and decorum. Stein had an audience with the Maharaja who received him in an open *Darbar* surrounded by his councillors and the entire court. The Maharaja asked him to describe his father's treasures and the state of European Sanskrit studies. In the *Darbar*, Stein was seated to the right of the Maharaja and flanked by Prince Amar Singh to the left and on the carpet before them the entire *Darbar* sat.

The Maharaja had summoned the twelve most learned Pandits including Pandit Damodar, Pandit Govind Kaul, Pandit Sahaz Bhat from Kashmir and Pandit Gokulachandra of Jammu, Pandit Harijalal of Jaipur and Pandit Bhaskara, the Royal priest. Stein was desired to discourse in Sanskrit and then also to recite *Vedic* verses from books printed in



Europe. Stein later presented these books to the Maharaja as a token of gratitude and respect. In half an hour the audience was over. Guards fired a salute to Stein. Overwhelmed Stein felt it was "undeserved", as his elephant became restless by the boom.

Allowing a few days to pass while he looked through the manuscript bundles and had extracts made by three Pandits assigned for the work, he gave them time to react and report. However, the high priest of the temple where the manuscripts were kept was upset at the desecration of the treasure entrusted to him by the Maharaja, whose command he could not afford to oppose. To chase the last cloud from the holy man's brow, Stein made a courtesy call on him. Stein, master of protocol to manipulate the process of officialdom, struck a good rapport. The kind reception accorded to Stein by the Maharaja and courteous services of several high officials secured access to Raghunath Temple in which Sanskrit manuscripts collected by late Maharaja Ranbir Singh had been deposited.

The rapid survey Stein was able to make during his short stay at Jammu sufficed to convince him to a great extent the importance of Jammu collection and liberal feelings of the Maharaja gave him reasons to hope that a proposal to make it accessible for research would be received in an enlightened spirit by the Maharaja. In the following year ready support by the new Resident, Mr. R. Parrey Nisbet, enabled him to take practical steps in this direction by submitting a plan for preparation of a systematic catalogue of manuscripts. On the recommendations of that energetic officer, the State Council by a resolution dated October 19, 1889 approved this plan and entrusted Stein the work.

Stein's position at Lahore which besides teaching and other duties connected with Oriental College involved a heavy amount of routine work in the office of the University. This was a damper for the preparation of



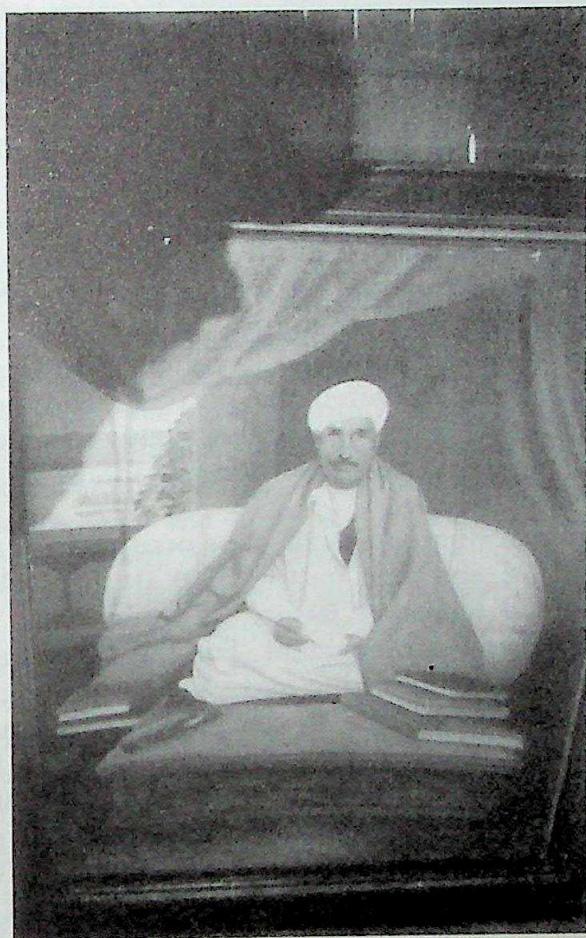
catalogue with classified list, extracts, making texts over other details, as it would involve large time, effort and application. Stein a scholar of high fame and repute was aware of such exercises earlier done by Professor Weber, Professor Aufrecht and Dr. Eggeling while they made catalogues of Sanskrit manuscript collections at Berlin, Oxford and London. He realized that if the task to catalogue nearly eight thousand manuscripts were to be done alone a number of years would be required even though he was aware of the admirable examples of Professors Buhler, Bhandarkar and Peterson.

In arranging for execution of the task, Stein faced a special difficulty arising from distance of his residence and the library. For the visits to Jammu he could utilise only a few holidays available during academic terms at Lahore. On the other hand a prolonged period or a transfer of collection or a large portion of it to Lahore was unpracticable. A liberal provision made by the State Council enabled him to overcome this serious difficulty by the following arrangements.

Stein recommended to the State Council requisition of two Kashmiri Pandit scholars of whose knowledge and scholarly qualifications he had personally occasion to form high opinion while working on Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. These persons were Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Sahaz Bhat of Srinagar. Both these scholars had a systemic knowledge of methods of collecting and copying the manuscripts according to Western standards of philological accuracy. The task was entrusted to them for preparing the catalogue at Jammu. For this purpose services of six copyists were placed at their disposal.

The preparation of extracts was commenced in December, 1889. This included preparation of texts of manuscripts, beginning and conclusions, identification of title characters, author, data, contents and reproduction of colophon in each manuscript. The Pandit scholars had





*Pandit Sahaz Bhat; b. 1838 d. 1911*



special duty to see the portions copied corresponded as closely as possible to the text of manuscripts. They had also to number the manuscripts and furnish extract slips, statements as to size of the manuscript, number of folia and their condition.

This entire gamut of scholarly feat of Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Sahaz Bhat was transmitted to Lahore at regular intervals to Stein with the object of testing the accuracy of these scholars. Of their colossal performance Stein recorded, "In almost all cases I had the satisfaction of convincing myself that the collation and revision of the extracts had been carried out by these two scholars with an accuracy which would have done credit to a European philologist. I believe, therefore, the methods adopted though perhaps elaborate and to certain extent expressive have completely answered the purpose. The fact of my having had at all times full and thoroughly reliable extracts at my disposal has been no little advantage in the final revision of catalogue".

The preparation of extract slips occupied the whole of the year 1890 and first half of 1891 during which time Stein devoted whatever leisure he could spare for their examination and arrangement. For the following fifteen months Stein was obliged to make a pause in the catalogue work in order to be able to concentrate his labour along with Govind Kaul, Mukandram and Sahaz Bhat on Kalhana's chronicle of Kashmir. As soon as the first volume of edition of *Rajatarangini* was published, work was resumed in connection with Jammu manuscripts. This now consisted primarily in the preparation of classified list from previously collected materials. For this purpose reference and comparison to published dozens of earlier catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts was indispensable. Stein made use of Professor Aufrecht's 'Catalogue Catalogorum' during a holiday in Europe in July 1893 while the main portion of Jammu catalogue was going through the press. For



comparing the quality of his work he also referred to Professor Weber's 'Catalogue of Chamber's Manuscripts', Royal Library, Berlin and Professor Eggeling's 'Catalogue of Indian Office Manuscripts', Oxford. He also made reference to Dr. Brunell's classified index, and last but not least to the series of admirable reports which Professors Buhler, Kielhorn, Peterson and Bhandarkar had produced on the Bombay Government's search for Sanskrit manuscripts.

The scholarly feat of Kashmiri Pandits was of no less merit. Stein wrote, "The important task of preparation of extracts from every manuscript of collection was entrusted to two Kashmiri scholars, Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Sahaz Bhat. For the most conscientious and scholarly manner in which they discharged it I feel all the more obliged as I can well realise how irksome a great portion of this work e.g., the careful reproduction of innumerable clerical errors and *apasabdhas* of the manuscripts must have been to the Pandit instinct. Their learning and thorough acquaintance with the methods of Indian scholarship especially in *Sastras*' traditionally cultivated in Kashmir have on many occasions most usefully supplemented my printed sources of references. Pandit Sahaz Bhat acted as my amanuensis during the preparation of the classified list and was assisted subsequently when the extracts and indices had to get ready, by Pandit Govind Kaul. Giving their services with unstinting zeal and devotion they have freed me from considerable portion of a heavy work which is inseparable from such task. They further helped me in reading proofs of printed extracts and have furnished me for the texts discussed in the introduction with abstracts of the contents and list of authorities quoted".

Having thus indicated the full extent of scholarly help received from these two Pandit friends, Stein observed modestly, "I have in no case considered myself absolved from the personal duty and responsibility implied in this



task." The work completed and published as 'Catalogue of Six Thousand Sanskrit Manuscripts of Maharaja Ranbir Singh Raghunath Temple Library' Jammu, in 1894 brought to the focus of Sanskrit students the world over one of the great storehouses of Sanskrit literature in India. In Stein's own words, "the Catalogue work of manuscripts can be a credit to any public library of the West and the excellent order in which the collection of manuscripts is now kept."

The work had endeared respect for both these Kashmiri scholars in Stein's heart. Years later while on a temporary return to Kashmir from his second Central Asian expedition, he remembered with nostalgia his association with these friends. He paid tribute to their scholarship. In a letter to his friend Allen in Vienna, October 15, 1905, Stein wrote, "I gathered together my old entourage. It was a pleasure to talk the language of gods and though my interests have now moved far northwards I shall try to keep Pandit Sahaz Bhat by me when I occupy winter quarters at Gupkar. He had been with me and Govind Kaul in the old days."

Even after more than five decades, Stein's nostalgia lingered. Early in December 1940, he left Kashmir for the plains, taking off from his work. He went via Jammu not only because it was the most direct route but also to settle pending matters. In addition it was a return to past. December 18, 1940, Stein wrote in a letter to Madam Publius who was then in Vienna, "My old clerk Ramchand Bali now well up in the State's ladder arranged for me to get through all my tasks. I visited again after fifty years the Raghunath Temple Library. Its six thousand old Sanskrit manuscripts had been catalogued by me with the help of Pandit Govind Kaul and another excellent Kashmirian scholar friend, Pandit Sahaz Bhat, in what seems now like a previous birth. It had been a dreary task but it saved the collection from being lost. I had a very attentive reception, had to talk Sanskrit again for an hour thus purifying my



tongue by use of the sacred language after all my peregrinations in the barbaric north and west. It was a quaint experience to find myself in the end garlanded in the traditional Pandit fashion for the first time in my life."

It was fortunate for Stein that a succession of Residents in Kashmir had equally supported this scientific inquiry into the Sanskrit treasure of Maharaja's library. These included Colonel Parrey S. Nisbet who recommended initially the commencement of work followed by Colonel D.W.K. Brar and Mr. W. Prideaux who assured its progress and completion. Stein was equally profuse in acknowledging help of Rai Bahadur Pandit Suraj Kaul, then Revenue Member of the State Council, as he recorded "the many proofs of kind interest he accorded to me will remain in my grateful recollection and I thank for much help which his position in charge of Temple Foundations enabled him to offer me."

The history of the collection of manuscripts in the Temple Library owe their origin to the Late Maharaja Ranbir Singh and stand as solid monument to the qualities in his remarkable character, pious regard for the inherited religious traditions and enlightened interest in Indian learning.

Soon after his accession to the throne in the year 1857, Maharaja Ranbir Singh consecrated a shrine to the worship of Rama or Raghunatha from whom according to Dogra tradition the house of Jammu Rajas claim descent. By the pious zeal of the Maharaja this shrine gradually became centre of extensive religious establishment. The Maharaja provided rich endowments for the funding and maintenance of such religious institutions as the *Dharma Sastras* recommend to be established in connection with Temple buildings.

Among these institutions a *Pathshala* or college and library of Sanskrit works were foremost objects of the Maharaja's care. The library located in the Temple was in







first place intended to meet the needs of teachers and pupils in various schools and collection of manuscripts for it began simultaneously with establishment of *Pathshala* in the first year of Maharaja's reign.

This *Pathshala* according to Maharaja's desire was intended to revive the study of *Vedic* texts which in his dominions had practically ceased for centuries, by imparting a knowledge of proper pronunciation of several *Samhitas* and teaching of various systems of rituals.

The troubled times through which the Dogra country together with Punjab had passed in the days of Sikh ascendancy had not been favourable to Sanskrit learning and had left but little opening for the formation of libraries on the part of few Pandits of which Jammu could boast during preceding reigns. When therefore Maharaja Ranbir Singh resolved upon formation of the Raghunath Temple library, the scholars entrusted with the task of acquiring a stock for the future collection had to turn their attention chiefly to purchase from other parts of India. According to Stein, "The beginning was made by Pandit Asananda who by the order of Maharaja is reported to have spent Rupees fifteen thousand in procuring manuscripts". However no information appears to have been preserved at Jammu as to the manner in which Pandit Asananda's purchases were effected.

The liberal patronage exercised by the Maharaja attracted an increasing number of Pandits to Jammu where many found employment in the court or in connection with various scholastic and religious establishments.

New opportunities arose for enlarging the collection by local purchases. Thus on the death of Pandit Vyasa (1869), a distinguished scholar especially versed in medical lore, his very extensive collection, strong in medical and *Kavya* texts was purchased from his widow and embodied in the library. Earlier additions of this kind had been obtained by the purchase of collection belonging to Pandit



Gopalrama and Pandit Ramakrishan. Occasional Pandit visitors seemed to also have been induced by liberal rewards offered to make contributions of rare manuscripts to the Raghunath Temple Library. Apart from the above purchases the library was steadily enlarged during the whole of Maharaja's rule, by means of copies prepared under superintendence of specially appointed staff, from manuscripts not available for sale.

The rich stores of Sanskrit literature processed by the Pandits of Kashmir had at an early date attracted the Maharaja's attention. Extensive operations were begun about 1861, under his orders by Pandit Rajakaka, son of Pandit Balbhadra, the representative of distinguished Pandit family of Srinagar, for purpose of obtaining copies of all Kashmir Sanskrit works not current in India proper. It may be taken as certain that in the case of most of these works, the purchase of original Kashmir manuscripts could have been effected with equal facility. But as these originals on account of *Sharada* characters used in these would have practically sealed to Jammu scholars, preference was naturally given to new *Devanagari* transcripts. Assisted by well known Kashmiri scholars, such as Pandit Balbhadra, Pandit Sahibram, Pandit Krishna Bhatta and others, Pandit Rajakaka had obtained a fairly representative collection of works belonging to the *Kavya*, *Alamkara*, *Saiva* and *Dharma* literature of Kashmir when he died in 1864. The task was taken up by Pandit Jagdhara who succeeded with help of Pandit Dayaram, Pandit Sukhram and other Pandits of Srinagar in completing the collection which now contained probably a large number of Kashmiri texts than any other single library in or outside valley. However many of these copies shared the faults attached to all recent *Devanagari* transcripts from *Sharada* originals

According to Stein, "the small collection of twelve well preserved birch bark codices written in *Sharada* were added to library mainly as an object of curiosity".



Among the original Sanskrit works composed and compiled by individual authors were *Nitikalapalata*, work of polity by Pandit Sahibram the well known Kashmiri scholar who died in 1872, the *Ranviraratnakosa*, a legal digest by Pandit Sivasamkara, the vedanta work *Chittapradipa* by Kashmiri Pandit Vasudeva, the medical treatise *Vishaharatantra* by Pandit Ganesh, the astrological handbook by Lala Pandit and other commentaries were composed in Sanskrit by Pandit Ramchandra of Kashmir. The library collection had commentaries by him on the *Matsyapurana*, *Markandypurana* and *Vamnapurana* by Pandit Dayaram Shastri besides on the *Bhagavadgita* and *Lingapurana* by Pandit Dayaram Shastri, also of Srinagar.

Among the translations preserved in the library may be mentioned the *Vinaratna Sekhrashikha*, an extensive work on polity with full commentary by Pandit Satrisnama. The *Viravaidyaratnahara*, a medical text translated and annotated by the same author, adorn the collection. There are further a number of anonymous digests on various *Sastras*, such as *Kalpasagara* in medicine, the *Muhuratakhanda* and *Tajikasamhita* in astronomy which were prepared in collaboration by several of Maharaja's Pandits from Kashmir. According to Stein the scholars known to have assisted at various times in translating and compiling included Pandit Damodar (\*1892), Pandit Govind Kaul (\*1899), Pandit Mahadaba (\*1893) and Pandit Isvara Kaul (\*1893) of Srinagar. As the cataloguing work of the Jammu library was completed there were still additions which the library received but were not amalgamated with older stock and were allowed to remain unclassified and in separate bundles. These were marked with the name of collector and place from which the manuscripts had been received.

According to Stein, a miscellaneous collection of transcripts of such Kashmirian texts were made under the superintendence of Pandit Sukharama of Srinagar during

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\*Year of death



the last years of Maharaja. In certain cases Stein observed that some manuscripts though written in modern Kashmiri hand may not be accepted as sufficient proof of their Kashmiri origin. Since the scribes employed at Jammu in copying the manuscripts for the Temple library were almost exclusively drawn from Kashmir which until quite recently could boast of plentiful supply of *Lekharis*, writing *Devanagari* hand of peculiar elegance.

Stein further observed that "many of the Jammu manuscripts written by these Kashmirian copyists are excellent specimens of modern Indian calligraphy and from this point of view truly fit for a Royal library. Unfortunately they sometimes however hide under this attractive exterior, a very defective text as a result of careless revision".

Among the numerous manuscripts of Kashmir in the library collection, was *Atharvaveda Samhita* containing the *Paippalada* text recension. This unique *Bhurja codex* was forwarded in 1875 to Professor R. Von Roth who described the same in his paper "*Der Atharveda en Kashmir*" at the University of Tübingen. A Jammu copy of the same was prepared by the order of Maharaja Ranbir Singh prior to the dispatch to Europe of the birch bark original. According to Stein, this original birch *codex* belonged to or was obtained through Pandit Dayaram Jyotshi. During a visit Stein paid to Tübingen in 1894, he was fortunate to see and examine the writings of this rare *codex* through the kindness of his respected teacher. Commenting on the value of this manuscript Stein observed, "Perhaps it was the most valuable existing *Bhurja* volumes. Judging from what I had seen in Kashmir of *Sharada* manuscripts the writing of the *codex* appeared to me about 800-400 years old".

Some of the other important Kashmir works in the Jammu collection include *Mantrabhāṣya*, a manual of the formulas and the rites occurring in the *Vratashikshasamskara* of the *Upanayana* ceremony. It is a rare work from Kashmir authored towards liturgical literature. The author of the



work does not state his name but mentions his father Somananda as a resident of Vijabror. The name Somananda is otherwise well known in Kashmir as the founder of the *Pratyabhijina* branch of *Saiva Darasan*. As regards works from *Upnishad* class, the *Dipika* of the *Ramopanishad* is important and furnishes us with the name of commentator's father as Ratnakara Bhatta. Among the manuscripts of grammatical works connected with Panini's system, in the first place two manuscripts of *Kasikavritti* from Kashmir can claim interest. According to Stein, Professor Buhler's researches have made the Kashmirian origin of the famous commentary highly probable.

Of the manuscripts relating to subsidiary text connected with Panini's grammar may be noted a copy of rare commentary on the *Paribhasha* attributed to Vyadi. It was first discovered by Buhler in Kashmir. The Jammu manuscript too is written by a modern Kashmiri hand and is fairly correct and bears signs of having been transcribed from a *Sharada* original. Among the manuscripts of Rhetoric class, the rich *Alamkara* literature of Kashmir is well represented in the Jammu collection. The manuscript of *Kavyaprakasa* which was copied from *Sharada* original furnishes interesting evidence regarding the best known Kashmiri work on poetics. According to Professor Peterson, *Kavyaprakasa* was left unfinished by Mamata and completed by another author. From the materials at his disposal Peterson took Alaka to be the name of joint author. However this name with more correct spelling as Allata is found in fine birch bark *codex* of *Kavyaprakasasamaketa* written by Pandit Rajanakaratnakara in 1648. Stein was fortunate to take a photograph of folio 4 of this interesting *codex* which was then in the possession of Pandit Damodar of Srinagar. In order to complete the case of Allata as the real name of continuator of *Kavyaprakasa*, Stein recorded, "It suffices for me to point that according to the statement of Pandit Govind Kaul and Sahaz Bhat this form of the



name is the only one known to the tradition of Kashmiri Pandits to whom the double authorship of the *Kavyaprakasa* is otherwise familiar".

A small collection of works on the *Kamasastras* in the catalogue includes commentary on the *Panchasayaka* which was written during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time by Pandit Sahebram, the learned father of Pandit Damodar of Srinagar. Amongst the fables and novels mention of birch bark *codex* deserves a special mention from the collection. It contains the carefully written *Sharada* text of Bana's *Kadambari* with its continuation the *Uttarabagha* by the author's son called Bhatta Pulina. It is interesting to note that with this exception the manuscripts generally do not give the name of the author of the *Uttarabagha*. The Jammu collection possesses a fairly representative set of twenty eight *Mahatmyas* relating to the sacred springs of Kashmir. The *Mahatmyas* give usually in great detail the legends attaching to the different *Nagas* and accurate direction as to the routes of pilgrimage. Most of these texts that are described, formed part of *Bhringisamlhita*. The Kashmiri *Mahatmyas* belong evidently to very different periods and the older ones must have been subjected to considerable modifications in the course of centuries during which they were in practical use by the pilgrims and their guides the *Purohitas* of various *Tirathas*.

According to Stein, "They all possessed the great interest for the historical topography of Kashmir. A comparison of the local names found in them with actual sites visited by the modern *yatrikas* throws occasionally a curious light on the migration which some of these sacred springs must have apparently undergone in order to suit themselves to the convenience of the pilgrims or the changed conditions of communications in the valley". Among the *Bhaktisastra* manuscripts, the Jammu collection has much that is of interest for the study of two branches of Kashmir *Saiva* literature, the *Pratyabhijina Sastra* and



*Spanda Sastra*. This includes a *Bhurja codex* of the commentary of Utpladeva's *Sivadrishti* which was earlier known only from the quotations as the work of Somananda, the founder of *Pratyabhijina* system and guru of Utpladeva.

It is to be regretted that two manuscripts one of birch bark and other a paper one of *Sivadrishti* in the collection in Jammu library were too fragile to handle. A collection of verses in praise of *Siva* composed by Utpladeva with commentary by Kshemaraja Rajanaka, pupil of Abhinavagupta, is also an important work. That Kshemaraja Rajanaka did not restrict his labours to the *Pratyabhijina* alone but cultivated also other branch of Kashmir *Siva* philosophy is shown by his commentary called *Vimarsini* on the main text of *Sivasutras* of Vasugupta.

The work, prior to its completion, absorbed Stein's scanty leisure during weary months at Lahore. However, the burden that had followed him in one form or the other to many places from the plains of Hungary to his alpine home, Mohand Marg in Kashmir valley, was to a large extent lightened by his two Pandit friends. Stein heaved relief. Camped in 1894 at Trisangam, Kashmir, enjoying the alpine breeze of his meadow resort, the satisfaction that his efforts with the help of his Kashmiri friends had prevented the loss of great storehouse of oriental learning from loss and neglect, must have enhanced his enjoyment of the alpine breeze of his mountain resort.

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## The Shift

During the decade Stein held the post of Registrar, Punjab University and Principal, Oriental College Lahore, where the strum and drag, the routine had given him, he also had the orientalist's straps piped to his scholastic attainments. The reward was, what he called the "joint efforts" with Kashmiri scholars, the publication of *Rajatarangini* and Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's Library. Yet Stein's instinct invited him to embark on an archaeologist's career. His spirit was kindled by the mix of Csoma's archaeological explorations in Ladakh and Tibet and Buhler's orientalist inquisitive fire to study of Sanskrit literature of ancient India.

Aurel Stein was physically of a short stature by average European standards. He stood at five feet four inches with his mother's slight frame but wiry and of exceptional strength and stamina. The one weakness in that otherwise tough physique was recurrent dyspepsia, perhaps the price he paid for his idea that "time given to such gróssness as feeding is time ill spent". Time for Stein was the most precious commodity. Every moment of "the hair breadth of time assigned to a mortal should be spent nobly and fully", he believed. On occasions he enjoyed picnics, had dinners with friends. He went to parties and formal gatherings of which then British cantonments in Kashmir had wide assortment. He made intellectual, scholarly and influential acquaintances. Most agreeable to him was good evening conversation with such friends whoever contributed to his deep thirst for the spirit of antiquity interest. Stein was methodical, systematic, organised, planned and prepared his self-charterd career with extraordinary accomplishment that famed him the world



over with his Central Asia explorations reward. Stein never married. He chose the world within the triangle he formed, a world whose promise and excitement and discovery filled his days and years and brought him a sense of fulfilment. 'Marriage must not interfere'. He put even the thought of it aside. He remained single. He had no regrets.

As the days of his Lahore stay were coming deliberately close of his own volition in 1899, he aspired for a career of Inspector in Education Department with Government of India, an opportunity that would have enabled him to tour and carry antiquarian works. He wanted to gather more knowledge of the country and people of Kashmir. But he did not become one. He summed up his love for it, "Kashmir—where altogether I spent barely nine months is more familiar to me than the Punjab and its inhabitants during the decade".

During 1897, Stein also aspired for the post of Professor of Oriental Languages, in the University of Budapest, at home. But it too did not come through. He sought the right connections of his former Vice-Chancellor, Sir Mackworth Young who had become the Governor of Punjab, to bid goodbye to Punjab. He vied for the post of Epigraphist to Indian government as the position suited his scholarly instincts and even preferred this to Professorship at Budapest.

June 5, 1898. Mohand Marg. "I do not need to hide the fact that my premature departure from Indian researches would not cause me pain. If I could secure a position in India which would leave me more freedom for scholarly works than my Lahore job I would delight to stay in India"

September 11, 1889. Mohand Marg. "I am plagued by doubts wondering if in Budapest I would not long to return to India. I have my alp all to myself since the cold has driven *Gujars* away. Delicious grapes from the Maharaja's vineyard are delivered to me. I enjoy them all the more because they are probably stolen"



Stein's inner orientation had changed. His hopes were no longer magnetized by Budapest and Europe. An article in *Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal* by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, a paleographer, whom Stein knew, gave a definite shape to his daydreaming. The study was on manuscript fragments of Khotan. Though not invited by Indian Archaeology for the task, Stein launched his ambitious plan. A proposal dated September 10, 1898, sent to Government of India marked the decisive change in Stein's life.

December 27, 1898. Simla. Stein received a letter by Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to Dr. Hoernle offering him job as Principal at Madersa College, Calcutta, assigned to Indian Educational Services. Stein gave up the amenities of Mayo Lodge, Lahore, to obey the dictates of thrift and prudence. He decided to accept the Calcutta offer.

April 27, 1899. Stein received the notice of appointment at Calcutta. With Curzon's appointment as Viceroy to India early in 1899, Indian archaeology sailed out of doldrums in which it had been caught for generations. It took direction and strength under his concern. Curzon had his personal priority on the vast Indian ruined monuments whose age and meaning he believed might help reveal its past. In a short report of his grand tour he let loose his salvos of his anger, temper and righteous patriotic sense when he observed, "the continuation of state of affairs seems to me little short of a scandal. Were Germany the ruling power in India I do not hesitate to say it would spend lacs on this task to which our (British) generosity has devoted a meagre sum of Rupees sixty one thousands raised only a little to eighty eight thousands a year ago"

February, 1899. Stein was in Calcutta. The Asiatic Society in Bengal became his hub to harness his orientalist dreams. Lord Curzon whose personal gesture to further his Central Asian dreams assured him the support. It was not too late when in April 1900, John Marshall then Director General Archaeology, approved his deputation for one year for the



*Presented to  
Pandit Nityananda Shastri  
as a mark of friendly  
remembrance and esteem  
October 20, 1916  
A. Stein*

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN  
CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.Litt.

**A**BUNDANT as were the results brought back from the journey which during the years 1906-08 had carried me through the whole length of Eastern Turkestan and portions of westernmost China and Tibet, they could not keep my eyes long from turning towards plans of another Central-Asian expedition. It was not the mere "call of the desert"—strongly as I have felt it at times—but the combined fascination of geographical problems and interesting archaeological tasks which drew me back to the regions where ruined sites long ago abandoned to the desert have preserved for us relics of an ancient civilization developed under the joint influences of Buddhist India, China, and the Hellenized Near East. I well remembered the openings for fruitful exploratory work which, on my previous travels, disproportion between the available time and the vast extent of the ground had obliged me to pass by, and I was anxious to secure these chances afresh while I could still hope to retain the health and vigour needed successfully to face the inevitable difficulties and hardships.

The arrangement of the large collection of antiques which I had brought to the British Museum from my former expedition, and the multifarious efforts which I had to organize and direct for their elucidation, helped by a staff of assistants and numerous expert collaborators, kept me busy in England until the very end of 1911. Work on the big publication which was to record the scientific results of that journey still continued to claim most of my time after I had returned to duty on the Archaeological Survey of India, on the familiar ground of the North-West Frontier and Kashmir. That heavy task was not yet completed when in the autumn of 1912 a variety of considerations induced me to submit to the Indian Government my formal proposals for the long-planned expedition, by which I wished to resume my geographical and archaeological explorations in Central Asia. Among these considerations regard for the favourable political conditions then actually prevailing in respect of the regions to be visited played an important part. In this connection I have reason to remember gratefully the shrewd advice by which two kind friends, Sir

*Facsimile of the copy of A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913-1916, sent by Sir Aurel Stein to Professor Nityanand Shastri. (Read at the Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, London on June 5, 1916).*



Khotan exploration. It corresponded exactly to his wishes. He recalled his Madersa experience.

November 1, 1899. "I must blame myself for having pushed the Calcutta position without first having acquainted myself with climatic and living conditions. It is now clear to me how grateful I must be that a happy chance took me to Lahore first. However I must be grateful to Khotan expedition that gave me a chance to escape Calcutta".

May, 1900. Stein was on road to Khotan. He had embarked on a career as an archaeological explorer but not before he had given the racy impetus to the interface of collaboration between Western orientalist with Kashmiri Pandit scholars that was initiated by his mentor and teacher Professor Georg Buhler in 1875 and carried further to flourish by his own labours in Kashmir from 1888 to 1899. The saga of knowing Kashmir's past history and its language, literature and other antiquarian objects was on the threshold of gaining a new dimension, with a new twist for next four decades. Stein had become a pivot reference in Kashmir to any Western orientalist who would come to Kashmir or labour on its literature, language and history. He knew Kashmir like the palm of his hand. The impressions are not hard to conclude. Stein's note dated May 24, 1892 bears the testimony. "I hear from Roth very rarely but it is probably my fault for not having time to correspond about things that interest him. I cannot indulge in *Vedic* and *Avesta* studies and must restrict myself to helping colleagues and patrons in Europe by procuring manuscripts and other materials when opportunities arise. I have done this quite often, for example for Bukhardt in Vienna who is working on the Kashmiri language, a study for which I could never spare time".

But Stein who valued time by the "breadth of hair" did learn Kashmiri. Two years later August 15, 1894, his diary reads, "I am taking the advantage of opportunity to learn



Kashmiri and regularly take lessons on the march and at camp during evenings from Pandit Kashi Ram. Though not a scholar like Govind Kaul, he is more reasonable, a fine person and a good walker."

Stein though had moved far northwards from Kashmir he really never left it.

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## Kashmirishabdamrita

Five years before Stein embarked on his Khotan exploration and while still engaged on *Rajatarangini* and Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Raghunath Temple Library and looking for grants for catalogue work since the Kashmir finances were in trouble, he received a very encouraging note from George Grierson (1851-1941). George Abraham Grierson was Irish by birth and naturalised as an English civil servant. Earlier in Bihar he had worked on its peasant life and thereafter moved to Calcutta. This noted linguist who had become Secretary of Bengal Asiatic Society, informed Stein that "Society will undertake the honorarium of rupees four thousand". This gesture of Grierson struck the note of friendship with Stein and developed into a lasting relationship of mutual interest in Kashmir. The careers both pursued with their respective works earned them acclaim and fame with Knighthood in 1912. While Stein moved northwards from Kashmir on course to Central Asia, he invited Grierson's attention to Kashmiri language and its study.

The nineteenth century saw the Kashmiri Pandit community throw up giants in the field of learning and letters. Contacts with the West had set into motion the process that led to an intellectual ferment in Kashmir, inspiring the Pandits to rediscover and reinterpret their past and undertake new and challenging scholastic ventures mostly in collaboration with western scholars but also independently. Among the titans of age who chartered an independent course for themselves was Pandit Ishwar Kaul of Srinagar, born on 2nd *Shravna Krishnapaksha* 1890, *Samvat* corresponding to Thursday July 4th 1833 A.D. and died on 2nd *Bhadrapada Krishnapaksha* 1950 *Samvat*, corresponding



to Tuesday August 29, 1893 A.D. of cardiac disease at the age of sixty years. He came of a family which was learned in Sanskrit. His father Pandit Ganesh Kaul died when he was only three years old. Ishwar Kaul first studied under Pandit Tekaram Razdan who was at the time one of the most renowned Pandits of Kashmir and subsequently under Pandit Devakrishan Jyotshi of Benaras, who had come to Jammu in the service of late Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir.

He was also a good Persian scholar and had a fair knowledge of Arabic. In the year 1861 A.D. he was employed by the Maharaja in translating Persian and Arabic books into Sanskrit and *Bhasa* (Hindi) and ten years later in 1871 A.D. he was appointed Head Teacher of the Sanskrit school which was then opened by the Maharaja in Srinagar on the suggestion of Babu Nilamber Mukherjee then the Prime Minister of State.

Kashmiri Pandits known to have had penchant for producing works of grammar is proved by several grammatical treatises they authored in Sanskrit. The earliest grammar of Tibetan was composed by a Kashmiri Pandit and so was the first Gujarati grammar. Pandit Ishwar Kaul continued the tradition by writing the first grammar of Kashmiri language named *Kashmirishabdamrita*. It was composed in 1932 *Samvat* corresponding to 1875 A.D. but his son Pandit Anand Kaul informed Grierson that it was composed in *Samvat* 1931 corresponding to 1874 and revised and added to in *Samvat* 1936 corresponding to A.D. 1879. In the year 1881 A.D., Maharaja Ranbir Singh started translation department in which books of various languages were translated in Sanskrit and *Bhasa*. Pandit Ishwar Kaul was appointed as its Director. The Maharaja died in 1884 and fifteen days after his death the department was abolished and Ishwar Kaul was appointed *Jyotshi* to Maharaja Pratap Singh who had ascended the throne. He authored many works including a *Kosa*.



THE  
KĀÇMĪRĀÇĀBDĀMRTA

A  
KĀÇMĪRĪ GRAMMAR

WRITTEN IN THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGES

BY  
IÇVARA-KAULĀ.

EDITED

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS

BY  
G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S.

PART I

DECLENSION

PUBLISHED BY

Coverpage: Kashmirishabdāmṛita by Pandit Ishwar Kaul.  
Edited by George Grierson, 1898 A.D.



The edition of *Kashmirishabdamrita* of Ishwar Kaul was prepared from a single manuscript, the possession of which Grierson owed to the courtesy of Babu Nilamber Mukherjee. The manuscript was presented to Nilamber Mukherjee by Ishwar Kaul himself after revising it in his own handwriting. According to Grierson, "the work can be taken as author's final statement of his views on Kashmiri grammar and considering the authoritative nature of the manuscript I have not felt justified in making any alterations when preparing for the press. All that I did while editing it was correction of slips of pen".

Grierson further observed, "the work is a grammar of Kashmiri language in Sanskrit on the model of *Vyakarana*. It is an excellent work and might have been composed by Hemachandra himself". Complimenting the excellence and perfection in Ishwar Kaul's work Grierson also observed, "Existing grammars of Kashmiri language have been prepared by foreigners and are imperfect. They all suffer from one fault i.e. they have been based upon representation of language that is displayed to them by Persian alphabet, a system of characters which is quite unable to express the many broken vowel sounds in the language. Ishwar Kaul has adopted the *Devanagari* character indigenously modified with diacritical marks to suit his purpose. With his system there is no doubt whatever as to what is exact sound of each word in the language. It has its value and the use of language with his system represents the purest form of the Kashmiri tongue".

The grammar was read through by Grierson with Pandit Mukandram, a scholar born and bred in Srinagar who had come down to Patna for the purpose. Pandit Mukandram also read the proofs and elucidated many difficult points to Grierson. Acknowledging his help, Grierson recorded, "I am glad to have assistance which I have received from so learned and intelligent a co-worker".

The printing of the grammar was done at Patna under



care and personal supervision of Babu Ram Dev Singh and Babu Sahib Prasad Singh. The work was published by Asiatic Society Bengal in the year 1897. Publication of Ishwar Kaul's *Kashmirishabdamrita* was the first milestone in the study of Kashmiri language by a western scholar. With this work written in Sanskrit after the manner of the great Sanskrit grammarian Panini, Pandit Ishwar Kaul assured for himself an esteemed place in the galaxy of Kashmiri scholars.

Twenty years later while paying tributes to Pandit Govind Kaul, Stein also did not fail to recognise the outstanding scholastic attainments of Ishwar Kaul. Appreciating the merit of *Kashmirishabdamrita*, Stein was honest to call Ishwar Kaul "the Kashmirian epiphany of Panini".

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## The Dictionary of Kashmiri Language

In the year 1898, when Asiatic Society of Bengal had completed the publication of Kashmiri grammar written in Sanskrit by Ishwar Kaul under the editorship of Grierson, his attention was drawn to a report that Pandit Ishwar Kaul had also composed a *Kosa* – Kashmiri Dictionary. Further enquiries elucidated the fact it was indeed so. After a prolonged negotiation for the success of which Grierson was largely indebted to the efforts of Aurel Stein and Sir Adelbret Talbot then Resident of Kashmir, the manuscript came into Grierson's possession.

Examination of the papers showed that Ishwar Kaul never lived to complete much less to revise the *Kosa*. He had died in 1893. Previewing the manuscript, Grierson observed that for the first few letters of alphabet 'K' Ishwar Kaul had written a fair copy of each Kashmiri word together with synonyms in Sanskrit and Hindi but the greater part of manuscript constituted merely a memorandum of list of Kashmiri words. Incomplete as they were, these papers nevertheless formed a valuable addition to the literature of an important but little known language and it appeared worthwhile to Grierson to make an effort to utilise them and publish the result.

Accordingly in the year 1899, Grierson represented the state of affairs to the Asiatic Society Bengal and suggested what seemed to him, a practical method for making the materials available to scholars. Asiatic Society Bengal with great liberality provided the funds necessary for the scheme which was to have the scholarly indulgence of a competent Kashmiri Pandit to fill up the lacunae left by Pandit Ishwar Kaul and to prepare the manuscript for the press.

Aurel Stein added one more to the many debts Grierson



owed to his kindness by securing for him the services of Pandit Govind Kaul, who at once commenced the great task. However fate had willed otherwise. The excellent scholar died in June 1899 to great regret of Grierson before he had finished the words commencing with letter 'k'. A necessary delay occurred in the progress of work before a successor was found for carrying further the incomplete task. Grierson entrusted the job to Pandit Mukandram, of whose accuracy and learning he had previous knowledge and experience while editing the *Kashmirishabdamrita* besides, on commendation of Stein with whom he had laboured on the *Rajatarangini*.

Mukandram took up the work again from the beginning and continued to work till his death in 1921, not only copying and correcting what Ishwar Kaul had left but largely adding to the number of words with explanation. As the fullest portion of Ishwar Kaul's materials left much to be desired, Mukandram made a list of Kashmiri words with Sanskrit and Hindi synonyms added with short explanation in Sanskrit and further check in Hindi. The principal source on the content of 'dictionary' came also from the study of various Kashmiri texts. Among these were *Lalla Vakyani*, a collection of songs by celebrated Lal Ded, Krishan Razdan's *Sivaparinaya*, Devakar Prakash Bhatt's (Prakash Kurigami) *Sri Ramavataracharita*, Dinanath's (Prakash Kurigami) *Krishnavataralila*, Hatim's songs and tales, a valuable collections of folk tales collected in Kashmiri by Stein and Govind Kaul, besides also from Hinton Knowles' *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*, a work greatly contributed by another eminent Kashmiri scholar, Pandit Anand Kaul. Other works from which contents of dictionary were supplemented included *Essays on Kashmiri Grammar*, *Valley of Kashmir* by A.W. Lawrence and Elmslie's *Vocabulary of Kashmiri Language*. Every Kashmiri word that these texts contained was included in the dictionary. It was a colossal task begun in



Camp, P.O. Gandarbal, June 28,

My dear Pandit Nityanand,

I have just received from Sir George Grierson a copy of the fourth part of his Dictionary of the Kashmiri language, that great work on which he has been engaged for more than 34 years.

I note with much pleasure in the Preface an appreciation of the valuable help which you have given to that great scholar.

Not knowing whether you have received yourself a copy of this part of the Dictionary I send you herewith a copy of several extracts from the Preface as I think you would be glad to see this acknowledgment of your valuable help.

I hope you will give me the pleasure of a visit here at Marg at sometime which may suit your convenience. Meanwhile I hope to hear that you are keeping good health.

सविनयसन्निवाद् दुरःकृत्य मम प्रणमः  
स्वादनमिच्छामि

औरेह्यं सैनः ॥ केशवतु ॥

Professor Nityanand,

Upper Suthoo,

Srinagar.

Facsimile of the letter dated June 28, 1933 sent by Sir Aurel Stein to Professor Nityanand Shastri following the publication of Dictionary of Kashmiri Language.



1898 and concluded in 1932. It was a painstaking effort of thirty four years of collaboration between the Pandits of Kashmir and Grierson. The publication appeared in four volumes the last of which came in 1932.

On the completion of the dictionary, Grierson acknowledged the valuable contributions Kashmiri scholars had made towards the work. He recorded, "I must conclude with an expression of grateful thanks to whom I am indebted. First of all I must name Dr. Ernest Neve and Dr. H.E. Lawrence of Kashmir CMS Hospital who often gave me generous help on doubtful points submitted to them. I fear that not seldom, I must have interrupted one or other in the midst of far more important tasks but they never allowed me to feel that I was imposing on their inexhaustible kindness. Again to Professor Sten Konow of Oslo and Dr. L.D. Barnett of the British Museum, I am under heavy obligation for unvarying friendship with which they helped me in correction of proofs and in the elucidation of obscurities in Sanskrit of the Pandits' explanations. I also owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor Nityanand Shastri of Sri Pratap College, Srinagar for much help in explaining difficult points in Kashmiri idiom and meaning that baffled my unaided knowledge. After the death of my assistant Mahamahopadhyaya Mukandram Shastri, this gentleman placed all the resources of his great learning at my disposal. He even wrote for me a commentary of an ancient Kashmiri work *Mahanayaprakasa* which I found most valuable in elucidating the history of the language".

The account of this work appeared in *Memoir* of the Asiatic Society Bengal in volume XI (1929). Grierson further recorded, "By the regretted death of Mahamahopadhyaya Mukandram Shastri, I lost a valuable coadjutor possessed of unique knowledge of his native language in all its forms ancient and modern. It was with him I began my studies in Kashmiri when at the end of last century he came to me



in the hot plains of Patna and spent there many months far from his native land of mountain and snow. After his return home, for more than twenty years he helped me in editing Kashmiri texts and in preparation of this dictionary and before I lost his services he had completed the last slips upon which the latter has been based. It is with genuine sorrow that I recognise that he did not live to see the completed sheets of work on which he spent such fruitful labour". Grierson further discreetly expressed about the contribution of Kashmiri scholars in this great task by stating, "the authority of this dictionary mainly depends on the fact that a greater portion has been prepared by these Kashmiri Pandits as my authority on the subject is small. Ishwar Kaul's *Kashmirishabdarnita* has been my authority in all doubtful cases".

Work completed, task achieved and the chord of friendship, respect with admiration evident, the great scholars had personal satisfaction to share. During the period of more than three decades while the dictionary appeared in parts from time to time, Grierson, Stein and Nityanand remained in closest contact. In a letter dated June 28, 1933, Stein wrote to Nityanand "I have just received from Sir George Grierson a copy of fourth part of his Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language, that great work on which he was engaged for more than thirty four years. I note with much pleasure in the preface an appreciation of the valuable help which you have given to that great scholar. Not knowing whether you have received yourself a copy of this part of the dictionary, I send you herewith copy of several extracts from the preface as I think you will be glad to see this acknowledgement of your valuable help". The letter may have been a scholar's conscious obligation to a scholar but it was also an invitation for Stein to satiate his weakness of having long evening conversation with men intellectual, scholarly and or influential. The letter further reads, "I hope you will give



me the pleasure of a visit at Marg at sometime which may suit your convenience. Meanwhile I hope to hear that you are keeping good health”.

In retrospect it was time to see the great work on Kashmiri language getting recognition before the world but there was also a touch of tragedy in it. The Kashmiri scholars, Govind Kaul, Ishwar Kaul and Mukandram had died without fate having granted them the opportunity to bask in the glory of achievements as their completed work appeared in the final shape. Their scholarship stood at the zenith and through this work, they had become titans of the era.

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## Stein's Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir

During his visits to Kashmir between 1888 and 1905, Dr. M.A. Stein acquired at his expense chiefly at Srinagar, three hundred sixty eight Sanskrit texts. Apart from texts needed by Dr. Stein for his labours during 1888-99 on his critical edition and annotated translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* numerous manuscripts were purchased by him either to assist the work of fellow scholars in Europe or on account of their philological or paleographical interest.

Selection from his collection of Sanskrit manuscripts were handed over by Dr. Stein in 1894-95 to Professors Buhler and Roth for the Vienna Imperial Library and Tubingen University, respectively. A small selection subsequently passed through M. Emile Senart, Member of the National Institute of Bibliotheca, Paris.

In May 1911 this collection was formally handed over by Dr. Stein to the curators of the India Institute, Oxford, as a deposit during his lifetime. The curators had gratefully accepted Dr. Stein's benefaction under the following conditions:

(1) The manuscripts are to be kept as a separate collection in a suitable place in the Indian Institute library on the understanding that they remain Dr. Stein's personal property during his lifetime and they are bequeathed to the Indian Institute under his will.

(2) The manuscripts are to be held available for Dr. Stein's use during his lifetime wherever and whenever he may require any of them, arrangements for their transmission being made by the Librarian.

(3) No manuscript is to be allowed to pass outside the library except with Dr. Stein's written consent.



वज्रहे कष्टे मल्ल निरभये, वज्रपा  
 ननपतिरुमुते, भृष्टं समाचपि, उ  
 भृष्टं मभुष्टं पिवरुष्टे वसुवगापि  
 वृष्टपिभएः भृष्टे भृष्टं भृष्टं भृष्टं  
 वज्रहे वज्रपा वज्रपाः विवज्रवभ  
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 पञ्चपण्णि, वज्रपा वज्रपा  
 वज्रः भृष्टं भृष्टं भृष्टं, उज्जुगी  
 वज्रपा वज्रपा वज्रपा वज्रपा



(4) Dr. Stein's permission for the use of manuscripts of hitherto unpublished texts must be obtained by intending students in each case as long as the manuscripts remain his property.

(5) A brief but exact catalogue of manuscripts is to be prepared for the curators by competent Sanskrit scholar selected with Dr. Stein's approval and the task to be completed within three years of the date on which the manuscripts have been deposited at the Institute.

The last condition was fulfilled by the compilation of the catalogue with Stein's approval by Gerard L.M. Clauson, scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and Boden Sanskrit scholar. The catalogue has an introductory note by Professor A.A. Macdonell, Keeper of the Indian Institute. The catalogue is based on one which was prepared in slips and written in Sanskrit by Pandit Govind Kaul and which was revised and copied with reference to the original manuscripts in December 1905 and January 1906 by Pandit Sahaz Bhat under Dr. Stein's supervision.

The collection consisted of nineteen manuscripts comprising the subjects of *Veda Vedangas*, twelve comprised the grammar section and ten manuscripts made for the Lexicographical works. The Rhetoric works were represented by twelve manuscripts besides forty six manuscripts made the *Kavya* literature section. The collection included ten works on Drama, twenty four on Romance and nine on Philosophy and *Dharmashastra*. The smaller segments of collection were made by seven manuscripts on Astronomy, one on Architecture and one on Medicine besides three on *Epics*. The largest component of the collection was made of one hundred sixty seven manuscripts on *Puranas* and *Mahatmyas*. Forty one made for the manuscripts on *Bhakti* and the remaining six were on *Tantra* texts. Of the total collection thirty two manuscripts were on birch bark and the remaining were paper manuscripts. Two hundred seventy six were written



in *Sharada* script and the remaining ninety two were in *Devanagari* characters. According to Stein's note on this manuscripts collection, the recent manuscripts belonged to 19th century whereas the oldest in the collection were of 16th and 17th century.

The thickest manuscript in the collection contained three hundred ten folia while the leanest consisted of just one folio. Their number was seven. The number of lines in each folio varied from six to forty one while the number of *aksharas* per line did not exceed sixty two and in the least was eight. The manuscript of the smallest size measured  $3\frac{1}{2}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$  while the largest one was  $14" \times 9"$ .

It may be of considerable interest to a student of Sanskrit and Indological studies to have a detailed account of each manuscript in the collection. Yet it may suffice the need to some extent by the following brief account detailed hereunder on some of the manuscripts of Stein's collection which gives details of his encounters with Pandits during his Kashmir labours.

| Title of Manuscript                                            | Author         | Notes                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Regvedasya-<br/>Asvalayanasakha</i>                      | —              | Bought in 1896.                                                                  |
| 2. <i>Kathakasuktani</i>                                       | —              | Bought from Pandit Devkak in 1894.                                               |
| 3. <i>Kathakasuktani</i>                                       | —              | Complete. Copied in 1894 with Dayaram Jyotshi's Brahmana manuscript at Srinagar. |
| 4. <i>Kathika Rcaka<br/>Ekacacaragralisti<br/>Brahmanarupa</i> | —              | Copied by Pandit Sahaz Bhat in 1892.                                             |
| 5. <i>Astadhayasutrani</i>                                     | Panini         | Mutilated. Bought in 1894 from Deva Pandit with annotations.                     |
| 6. <i>Katantrapancika</i>                                      | Trilochanadasa | In Rajanaka Ratanakantha's hand. Bought from Pandit Devakaka, Srinagar in 1892.  |



| Title of Manuscript                                                  | Author                | Notes                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7. <i>Nipatasutrani</i>                                              | —                     | Bought in 1896 from Pandit Rajya Kaul.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 8. <i>Ekaksarakosa</i>                                               | —                     | Complete and purchased from Pandit Rajya Kaul in 1896.                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 9. <i>Mankhakosa with Manakha Vyakhiya</i>                           | —                     | This manuscript was purchased in October 1892, at Srinagar, from Prasad Pandit son of Narayna Pandit and grandson of Sahib Pandit through Vishnu Bhat Kachru, his <i>yajmana</i> . The same codex also contained <i>Visvakosa</i> and <i>Sasvatakosa</i> |
| 10. <i>Mankhakosa</i>                                                | Manakha               | Copy made under Pt. Mukandram's supervision in 1892 of a <i>Sharada</i> manuscript of 17th century brought from Srinagar.                                                                                                                                |
| 11. <i>Alankarasarvasva with Commentary called Alankaravimarsini</i> | Jayadratha Rajanaka   | In Pandit Sahibram's hand. Purchased in 1894 from Pandit Samkara Rajanaka.                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 12. <i>Kumarasambhavalika</i>                                        | Kalidasa-Vallabhadeva | Bought from Pandit Sahaz Bhat with old leather binding.                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 13. <i>Nidhanacarita</i>                                             | Sundara Bhat          | Complete. Copy purchased from Pandit Devakak in 1894.                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 14. <i>Commentary on Naisadhacarita called Tattvavierti</i>          | Rajanaka Anand        | An extract containing author's <i>prasasti</i> , copy by Stein from paper manuscript of Pandit Sunakak Razdan of Habba Kadal, Srinagar.                                                                                                                  |
| 15. <i>Commentary on Naisadhacarita called Tattvavierti</i>          | Rajanaka Anand        | Also a similar copy by Pandit Govind Kaul.                                                                                                                                                                                                               |



| Title of Manuscript                            | Author                      | Notes                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16. <i>Yudhishtiravijayakavya</i>              | Vasudev Raj Ratnakantha     | Modern copy of author's original manuscript bought from Pandit Devakak of Srinagar in 1892.                                                                                                      |
| 17. <i>Ragahavapandaviya Satika</i>            | Kaviraja Shashidhara        | Complete. Written by Pandit Damodar and bought from him in 1889.                                                                                                                                 |
| 18. <i>Rajatarangini</i>                       | Jonaraja and Srivara        | Bought in 1888 and 1891 from a Pandit to whom books had been pawned by Pandit Kesavram's father Sankorapadhyaya.                                                                                 |
| 19. <i>Rajataranginipancami Gadyapadyamayi</i> | Damodar                     | Copy of author's original unpublished manuscript.                                                                                                                                                |
| 20. <i>Rajataranginisangraha Gadyarupa</i>     | Sahib Kaul                  | Copy of Pandit Sahibram's original notes for his continuation of the <i>Rajatarangini</i> containing account of Kashmir under Sikh rule and narrative of events in Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time. |
| 21. <i>Rajataranginisara</i>                   | Sahibram                    | Recieved from Dr. Hultzsch in 1898. The manuscript bears authors autograph.                                                                                                                      |
| 22. <i>Rajatarangini Notes</i>                 | Aurel Stein and Govind Kaul | Miscellaneous notes written in 1890-1892.                                                                                                                                                        |
| 23. <i>Lekhasiksa</i>                          | Sahibram                    | Original manuscript of author.                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 24. <i>Lekhasiksa</i>                          | Damodar                     | Original manuscript of author.                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 25. <i>Samayamatrika</i>                       | Kshemendra                  | Complete. Written by Govind Kaul for Stein in 1898.                                                                                                                                              |
| 26. <i>Samayamatrika Vyakhya</i>               | Kshemendra                  | Complete. Written by Govind Kaul for Stein in 1898.                                                                                                                                              |
| 27. <i>Prabodhacandrodayatika</i>              | Ratnakantha-<br>rajanaka    | Bought from Pandit Devakak of Srinagar in 1892.                                                                                                                                                  |



| Title of Manuscript                              | Author        | Notes                                                                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 28. <i>Tantrakhyayika – Visnusmaran</i>          | —             | Two copies acquired through Pandit Sahaz Bhat in 1904 and 1905.                                                                                                 |
| 29. <i>Vasavadatta</i>                           | Subandhu      | Bought from Mahanand Joo in 1892.                                                                                                                               |
| 30. <i>Vasavadatta</i>                           | Subandhu      | Bought from Pandit Gopal Kokiloo's library in 1892.                                                                                                             |
| 31. <i>Harsacarita</i>                           | Bana Bhat     | Bought through Pandit Devkāk of Srinagar in 1891.                                                                                                               |
| 32. <i>Nirnayamṛta</i>                           | Aladanatha    | Bought from Pandit Damodar in 1889.                                                                                                                             |
| 33. <i>Nakasatrapatṛika</i>                      | Narayana Bhat | The calender of year 1893. The Kashmiri author was brother of Pandit Sahaz Bhat.                                                                                |
| 34. <i>Bhasavatitika-bhasavatidyota</i>          | Satananda     | Copied from Srinagar manuscript by Pandit Deva Bhat and Pandit Narayana Bhat.                                                                                   |
| 35. <i>Vastuvidya</i>                            | Maya          | Copied by Pandit Govind Kaul.                                                                                                                                   |
| 36. <i>Vaidyakalapatru</i>                       | Malinatha     | Bought from Pandit Sarvanand Kaul in 1895.                                                                                                                      |
| 37. <i>Amaresvarakalpa-Vathula Tantranirgata</i> | —             | Copied by Pandit Kashiram in 1895.                                                                                                                              |
| 38. <i>Kasmiratirathasangraha</i>                | Damodar       | In author's handwriting with list of <i>tirathas</i> arranged according to <i>paraganas</i> with legendary account of some sites. Received from author in 1890. |
| 39. <i>Kasmiratirathasangraha</i>                | Sahibram      | Contents catalogued alphabetically. Received from Dr. Hultzsch in 1898.                                                                                         |
| 40. <i>Kasamirikamahatmya-nanavidani</i>         | —             | Written by Pandit Damodar and his copyist for his father Sahibram who was collecting materials for his <i>Tirathasangraha</i> in 1866.                          |



| Title of Manuscript                                | Author         | Notes                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 41. <i>Kotitirthama</i>                            | —              | Copy of manuscript belonging to Pandit Janardhan, Srinagar, 1892.                                                                                                              |
| 42. <i>Nilamatapurana</i>                          | —              | Bought from Kantha Bhat with help of Pandit Sahaz Bhat in 1905. The manuscript was known to Stein since 1891 who regarded it as best known of all manuscripts on the treatise. |
| 43. <i>Nilamatapurana</i>                          | —              | Carefully complete text with various readings written by Pandit Govind Kaul under Dr. Stein's supervision.                                                                     |
| 44. <i>Puratanamandira-sangraha</i>                | Govind Kaul    | Composed and written by order of Dr. Stein.                                                                                                                                    |
| 45. <i>Mahadevagirima-bhringisasam</i>             | —              | Complete. Copy made by Pandit Mukandram in 1891.                                                                                                                               |
| 46. <i>Mitrapathadiyavaratha-prasanaadipuranae</i> | —              | Complete. Copy made by Pandit Kashiram in 1895.                                                                                                                                |
| 47. <i>Rajnipradurbha-vabhrngisasam</i>            | —              | Bought in 1895 from Pandit Rajaya Kaul.                                                                                                                                        |
| 48. <i>Varadhamanasvamima</i>                      | —              | Complete. Written by Pandit Totakaka and given to Stein in 1894.                                                                                                               |
| 49. <i>Vijaysavarma</i>                            | —              | Bought in Vijbror in 1893 from Pandit Vasudev.                                                                                                                                 |
| 50. <i>Vitastama Adipuranae</i>                    | —              | Complete. Copy by Pandit Govind Kaul.                                                                                                                                          |
| 51. <i>Sharadamabhrngisasam</i>                    | —              | Complete with topographical notes by Stein dated 1894.                                                                                                                         |
| 52. <i>Sarikamabhrngisasam</i>                     | —              | Complete. Bought from Pandit Mahanand Joo.                                                                                                                                     |
| 53. <i>Sandhyama Adipuranae</i>                    | Sri Sivasvamin | Complete. Written by Pandit Mukandram.                                                                                                                                         |



| Title of Manuscript                           | Author                   | Notes                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 54. <i>Haracaritracintamani</i>               | Jayadratha<br>Rajanaka   | Copy of old paper manuscript belonging to Pandit Sridhara, son of Ramachandra made by Pandit Mukandram in 1892. and collated with a good new paper manuscript belonging to Pandit Rajanaka Lasakaka. |
| 55. <i>Haramukatagangama-bhrngisasam</i>      | —                        | Copy of manuscript of Pandit Sahaz Bhat made by Kashiram in 1895.                                                                                                                                    |
| 56. <i>Harasesvarama</i>                      | —                        | Complete. Bought from a <i>purohita</i> of Khunmoh in 1889.                                                                                                                                          |
| 57. <i>Rupabhavanisidha-vakyani</i>           | Rupabhavani-<br>sidha    | Complete in Kashmri.                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 58. <i>Lallasidhavakyani</i>                  | Lallasidha               | In Kashmiri with Sanskrit translation.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 59. <i>Sahibkaulavakyani</i>                  | Sahib Kaul               | In Kashmiri.                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 60. <i>Sahibkaulavakyani</i>                  | Sahib Kaul               | Complete. Copied by Pandit Govind Kaul in 1898.                                                                                                                                                      |
| 61. <i>Sututikusamanjali</i>                  | Jagadhara<br>Bhatta      | In original leather binding purchased through Pandit Sahaz Bhat at Srinagar in 1904.                                                                                                                 |
| 62. <i>Nityadisasangraha-bhidhanapaddhati</i> | Taksakavarta<br>Rajanaka | Complete. Copied in 1895 by Sahaz Bhat.                                                                                                                                                              |

## Reference

1. Aurel Stein's collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Kashmir. Gerard L.M. Clauson, Boden Sanskrit scholar, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.



## Flashes in Interface

Another European Indologist Dr. J.Ph. Vogel, the then Priv. Doc, at the University of Amsterdam, Holland, visited Srinagar in the summer of 1900. Stein recommended him to Nityanand Shastri for the facilitation of his labours in Kashmir. In a memoir paper dated August 4, 1900 Srinagar, Vogel recorded, "Pandit Nityanand Shastri was first sent to me by Dr. Stein. Afterwards I only invited him for Sanskrit study. He was coming to me almost every day for a month. I was pleased by his teaching and humbleness". The referred encounter between the two marked the beginning of a lifetime relation. Their fruitful joint pursuits subsequently produced a wealth of significant and pioneering results on Kashmir antiquities and edition of *Nilamatapurana*, which was published from Leiden, Holland. The memoir paper of Vogel as indicated above also determines that this distinguished Dutch scholar visited Kashmir on an exploratory and self-educating tour in 1900, before his services were requisitioned by the state authorities of Jammu and Kashmir in 1903 to make a report on Kashmir temple sites which till now is historically recorded as Vogel's first visit to Kashmir. Before Vogel left Kashmir, he recorded his impressions of the interaction he had with Nityanand.

Srinagar, July 31, 1900. "During my stay at Srinagar in the summer of 1900, I read some specimen of the dramatics and *kavya* literature with the assistance of Pandit Nityanand Shastri, recommended to me by Dr. Aurel Stein, Principal of the Madersa College, at Calcutta and better than any one else acquainted with the learned class of Kashmir. I declare very satisfied with the vivid and agreeable way of reading and explaining Sanskrit followed by Pandit



Nityanand whom I found well versed in the branch of literature mentioned. I may add that his pronunciation of the sacred language appeared to me much corrector and less effected by vernacular influence than of most Kashmirian Pandits I had the pleasure to meet at Srinagar. I found Pandit's help very useful and in any way I can strongly recommend him to any European colleague who might visit the capital of Kashmir". Thus began their journey together.

Though Nityanand had achieved high degree of knowledge in Sanskrit language, he was still a student pursuing to obtain the requisite degrees of the Punjab University, Lahore. May 7, 1902, Senate Hall, Lahore, A.W. Stratton, formerly the Registrar at the university, sent a congratulatory letter to Nityanand. "Allow me to congratulate you on passing at the head of the list". Nityanand had become the first Kashmiri native to top in merit of a university examination.

August 7, 1902, Nityanand received a short note from Anna Booth Stratton, wife of Dr. A.W. Stratton, informing him about her husband's sickness that had caught him at Gulmarg. "I am sorry to say that Mr. Stratton's fever continues high. Yes, today morning we were sure it was broken but it has come up again to 103.6 and we feel that it is not under control. We begin to realize that he may be ill for a long time but we hope not. We thank you for kind inquiries. I think you could be of no service to him if you were here now even, as he is too weak to talk much". A.W. Stratton was drafted in the Educational Service of British India as the Registrar of Punjab University and Nityanand as a student had made his acquaintance at Lahore. The student later endeared his teacher's desire to learn Sanskrit. September 26, 1900, Stratton recorded, "During a short stay in Srinagar this summer, Pandit Nityanand Shastri of His Highness Maharaja's High School went over with me on part of *Kiratarjuniya*. His explanations and illustrations were



very helpful. I think his method of teaching admirable and only regret that my stay in Srinagar could not be longer".

James. H. Woods, Professor of Philology at Harvard University, Massachusetts, visited Srinagar, in summer of 1903. At Srinagar, he met Nityanand. In a short meeting there the two shared common interests that turned into a friendly relation. Woods sought help from Nityanand. Ganderbal, July 5, 1903. "Send by post the copy of *Anirudha*. I hope you will not forget your promise and come to visit here. *Anirudha* to which I refer is a book of Sanskrit philosophy". James Woods left Srinagar in haste to Bombay. July 30, 1903. He wrote to Nityanand, "I am sorry that I left suddenly that I could not see you. But I shall write you."

It was unfortunate that Stratton died in Gulmarg, Kashmir, in October, 1902. For want of efficient transport and thrift involving carriage of his mortal remains to his native country, the burial and mast ceremonies took place at Gulmarg. The sad wife Anna, left Kashmir in the winter of 1902-1903. Back home in Canada, she sent a letter to Nityanand.

523, Parliament Street, Toronto. August 4, 1903. "I have had a letter to you in mind for a long time but have been busy and tired and allowed myself to rest from letter writing. I have come a long distance since I saw you. From Bombay I sailed to Trieste, went by rail to Venice and spent a little time there, gave myself six weeks in Paris, as many more in England and finally landed up here in Canada on the 11th of July. I was fairly well on the whole of the way but you will understand going about looking at the cathedrals, pictures etc. was cheerless work sometimes alone! Often had my husband and I planned this journey together but it was never to be. I found it quite easy to travel alone so far as taking care of myself. Being able to read and speak French a little helps one in every European country. I sometimes thought of your Eastern women and



मरीनगरात।

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I thank you for your  
kind remembrance, and  
hope that you are well.  
I wish you all success  
in your English exam-  
ination, and hope to be  
able to congratulate you  
next summer.

Anna B. Stratton



their customs when I found myself arriving alone in a big strange city and I could not help but think that it is better to be able to take care of one's self than to be helpless. I found Dr. Stratton's father looking old and feeble. He has a beautiful spirit though and bears his loss wonderfully well. I shall stay with him a little longer. When you write, address me here".

The loss of Stratton and the memories of his wife further poured out. "If ever you make a pilgrimage to the grave at Gulmarg as I hope you sometime may do. Will you not send me little flowers from the grave if any are there? I was delighted to get your photograph and wrote to thank you from some part of journey. By the way T.W. Arnold of the Government College, Lahore asked if you would not send him one, he was so much pleased with one you sent me. I have not yet seen Dr. Bloomfield. Write me when convenient".

Following the death of Stratton, Arnold had taken over as Principal, Oriental College, Lahore and it was there that Maurice Bloomfield, the linguist *Guru* of Noam Chomsky had also begun his great work on Vedic Concordance with A.W. Stratton.

If by far the most interesting person at Lahore was Lockwood Kipling, Stein was quick and determined to have a wide circle of friends – intellectual, scholarly and influential. At Lahore on another level, Lockwood Kipling played a role in Stein's life. He introduced him to Fred Andrews who later became Vice Principal at Mayo School of Arts, in 1890. Later during the winters of 1896-98, three of his closest and most valued friends had entered his life. These were, Thomas Walker Arnold, Percy Strafford Allen and Nityanand Shastri. All the three had met at the faculty of Government College, Nityanand then of course as a student and the other two as colleagues. Arnold was a Professor of Philosophy and Allen a Professor of History. Their friendship lasted about five decades ending only in



Senate Hall.

Lahore.

May 7<sup>th</sup> 1902.

Dear Nityanand

Allow me  
to congratulate you on  
passing as the head of  
the list.

Your letter  
received the other day I  
shall answer shortly.

Sincerely yours  
A.W. Stratton



death. Theirs was an important friendship involving their work. Of course no friendship is like another in the individual's repertory. Each had its unique quality. Each its own grammar. With the passage of time, each one developed and each relationship grew uniquely. Their friendship grew out of a commitment to noble and intellectual tasks. Stein could count friends, good friends by the score but these three were the part of fabric of his being. Allen had become a kind of a brother and Nityanand was dear to him. Their exchange of letters was regular and once begun continued for life. Their letters followed Stein to his most distant travels. Because of these neither time nor distance could create a hiatus in the relationship. At a deeper level they reflected affection, concern and pride. It prevented Stein from becoming a solitary man like Csoma-de-Koros.

If Stein expatiated his mental energies in the buried history of Central Asia, Allen engaged himself in exploring a world of richly fascinating lifelong work of dating, collecting and editing the vast correspondence of Desiduries Erasmus, the intellectual hero of the 16th century. The two quests were balanced by each other. Allen uncovered Erasmus's letters in libraries, archives and private collections all over Europe which finally were published as 'Letters' in the year 1906 and won Percy Strafford Allen, Presidentship of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. With Nityanand, the exchange of letters gave Stein the comfort and reason to remain ever in touch with his alpine home in Kashmir. "For close to thirty years, these unfailing friendships have been the brightest thing in my life and a constant source of comfort and encouragement". Thus wrote Stein in 1926 in a Christmas greeting to Allen.

Though Stein's friendship with Arnold lacked the steady heart beat of letters, it however never faltered. Their first meeting came when Arnold after ten years of teaching at Anglo-Muslim College, Aligarh, moved to Lahore. Stein



wrote to Ernst, his brother on February 19, 1898.

"A capable Arabist – I am glad that I finally have some one whose interest in ancient India is as great as mine. I cannot consider him a replacement for me at Oriental College since by his own admission, this charming but unpracticed scholar is unsuited for administrative work". This initial response nursed their friendship and held to the very end. As Stein's first mention of Arnold was to Ernst, his last was to the scholarly community. "In Memoriam – Thomas Walker Arnold", 1864-1930 appeared in the proceedings of British Academy in 1932.

Unlike the steady pulse of Stein's friendship with Nityanand, Arnold reciprocated Stein's friendship expressing it by hidden charm. This is most clearly stated in a mournful scene that Stein recorded, "An hour spent in the spring of 1929 by a sunny Dalmatian shore when after a happy reunion successfully achieved after many years of separation, the dear friend expressed the wish that his obituary for the academy should come from my pen". A year and a month passed later, Arnold's heart as his doctors had warned stopped. To Nityanand, Stein poured out his heart while admiring his great learning, qualities of his soul, with overwhelming feelings that gave him a necessity of commitment to appreciate the storehouse of knowledge and learning. His letters often addressed to him began with words like "a great scholar of Kashmir who is embellished by qualities like grandeur, complete excellence of disposition and who is the crown gem of all scholars" and sometimes "the crest jewel of host of scholars of Kashmir and the worthy recipient of the grace of *Sri Sharada*." The three men matched one another in many ways. All of them had a large appetite for learning and their memory like storehouses had striking similarities and their letters broadly enthusiastic yet informative made a common thread to their scholarship.

In writing obituary, Stein fulfilled Arnold's wish and



while writing his own Will, Stein expressed his wish, the bequest he left for scholarly research was to be called "Stein Arnold Exploratory Fund." And did not it, match when Nityanand struck by paralysis and Stein away at Ahwaz in Iran, on his Persian explorations wrote to the former's son Gopinath, "Your father is always in my thoughts."

The reference to Maurice Bloomfield in Anna Stratton Booth's letter to Nityanand bears historical relevance and indicates that scholar's link to Kashmir. Bloomfield was Professor of Sanskrit at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore and *Guru* of greatest linguist of twentieth century, Noam Chomsky. As one of the twentieth century's most important figures, Chomsky's contribution to linguistics has been of value and has been described as, "one who will be for future generations what Galilio, Descartes, Newton, Mozart or Picasso have been for ours." His pioneering linguistic work, 'Syntatic Structures' was inspired by Bloomfield and it is a matter of pride for Pandits that Bloomfield had come in contact with Kashmiri scholars like Mukandram, Nityanand and Hara Bhat for gain and learning.

If Allen's passion for collecting Erasmus letters became a lifelong mission which earned him an honour at Christi College, Oxford, the wealth contained in letters and correspondence which Stratton had exchanged with Kashmiri Pandits in whose contact he had come in Kashmir became a mission for Anna Stratton. In the later part of the year 1903, Vogel received a communication from America sent by Anna Stratton which contained a request that copies of letters written by Dr. Stratton to his friends and students and the letters which are with them be sent to her. Vogel facilitating the purpose wrote to Nityanand, "Dr. Vogel sends this letter to Sri Nityanand Shastri who has reached the other end of the ocean of all sciences, who is embellished by a group of qualities and who is the crest of all scholars. Now one year has elapsed. Hereafter the city



Srinagar appears to my eyes as *Sri* in a form. I eagerly await the moment when I behold Kashmir and its great scholars and become blessed again. Besides I got a letter from America sent by Yisis Stratton. It contains this request, I should send the copies of letters written by Dr. Stratton to his friends and students, the letters which are with them. It is known that you too had strong friendship with Dr. Stratton. Therefore it should be done according to Anna Stratton's request. Those letters are with Sri Mukundram and others also."

If Stratton's correspondence with Kashmiri scholars was important to assimilate his links with Kashmir on ancient learning that would bring one of the important contributions as a bridge to joint studies, the emotional attachment to Kashmir itself was becoming important in personal life of Anna Stratton. Dr. A.W Stratton had spent useful part of his life committed to scholarship and in the end died in the land of *Sharada*. Anna had since made a request to Nityanand if "some flowers and grass from the grave side as token" could be sent to her. As the scholarly pursuits had also mixed with it the feelings of heart, Nityanand had indeed made the pilgrimage to the grave site of Dr. Stratton at Gulmarg and sent the pious token as desired by Anna.

In a letter dated December 29, 1903 from 82 Homeward Avenue, Toronto, Canada, Anna wrote to Nityanand, "By a strange chance your letter and tuft of grass from my dear husband's grave came to me on the anniversary of our wedding – the 6th of November! I cannot sufficiently thank you for the kindness in sending me this token. Two days after your letter came a few photographs of the grave and stone showing plainly the inscription just as you gave it." It was however the time of great calamity in Srinagar. A terrible flood had gripped it. Showing concern for her Pandit friends, Anna further wrote, "I have heard of the great calamity which befell you in Srinagar. It was indeed



a terrible flood. I am glad that you suffered no serious loss. How is it with Pandit Mukandram? I have also written to him but received no reply and last week sent a photograph of Dr. Stratton in your care. You will kindly see that he gets it and tell him that I have written. You have doubtless received the picture Mr. Arnold sent you and do you not think it good and very like him (Dr. Stratton)" The letter ends with a note of pecuniary details and gratitude for thoughtfulness Nityanand had shown. "We are having severe winter. The weather here is much snow and ice and we live in a house heated by steam pipes. My father and I are well. Again let me thank you for the precious bit of grave and for your thoughtfulness."

Nityanand replied this warm communication on 23rd February, 1904. In the meantime Anna Stratton had moved to a different location in Toronto and the concept to make a memorial volume of letters Dr. Stratton wrote and exchanged with his Kashmiri Pandit friends like Mukandram, Nityanand, Hara Bhat and many others also was developing. Anna again wrote to Nityanand. July 18, 1904, 306 James Street, Toronto, "Your letter of February 23 is long time unanswered, but it is not that I forgot you or it. The winters in Canada are long and cold and father Stratton has more than once been unexpectedly ill, the last time in May going for a month's treatment to the hospital. Hot weather has now set in, however, and he is in usual health. I have myself been greatly benefited by the bracing cold and am much stronger than when I left India. I have had a letter from Pandit Mukandram who I was sorry to learn lost his house in the floods of last year. I trust it will be many years before you are visited by a like disaster. I know both you and he received many or at least several letters from my husband. Were yours written in Sanskrit? Will you kindly make copies of any of them which you think would be needful in a memorial volume and sent to me at this address. If in Sanskrit I will get Dr. Bloomfield



to make a translation. You shall have a copy of the book when it comes out. I propose in the memorial to incorporate his letters from India. It will probably not be published this year as no work on it is begun yet but you will get the copy at the proper time." The letter contains a personal note also. "It is two years yesterday since we left our home in India. My mind and heart are constantly turning to those days."

Between the years 1904 and 1907 the collection, selection, editing and printing of this rich treasure was achieved. A work of significant value was added to contemporary Kashmiri-Western scholarship. The work was published in the spring of 1908 in London, as 'Letters from India'. From 51, Summer Hill Avenue, Toronto, November 27, 1908, wrote Anna to Nityanand, "Through the London publisher I sent a book to you last spring, a copy of Dr. Stratton's 'Letters from India'. It is the memorial volume of what I have often written to you. Did the book ever reach you? I have not heard from you since and begin to fear that the package went astray but I trust not. Perhaps your letter of acknowledgement went astray for we seem to lose a good many things in Toronto post office. If you have the book will you kindly write your impressions of it? Is it what you expected and are you in all ways satisfied with the work? It has been generously received in both England and American journals as you will see from a Canadian folder which I am enclosing. I do not know in the least how the sales are going to be. I fear they have been hurt by the high price the London publisher has put on it. I hope you and your family are well and I wish that I may see you if I am ever again in India. Father Stratton is in good health and we both send *salams* to Pandits Mukandram and Hara Bhat who were my husband's good friends."

The 'Letters from India' was published. The memorial volume contained Bloomfield's translation of Sanskrit



letters the Pandits had written to Stratton and of those also written by him in Sanskrit to the Pandits. However, availability of the copy of this work today remains elusive. Fortunately, however, few letters Stratton addressed to Nityanand and his to Stratton have survived the vagaries of time. These, however, cannot compensate for the non-availability of the complete work but are indicative of its rich content.

January 30, 1901, *Marinagar*. "A.W. Stratton congratulates (greet) the great scholar Pandit Nityanand. We arrived at *Marinagar* in the evening of the third day from our departure from Srinagar. We travelled slowly on account of the heavy rain and weakness of the horses. Now we dwell here in a house made available by a friend. I have only one photograph of yourself. I send it to you. *Memsahib* will consider the other in *Lavapura*. Here I pass time by studying *Nirukta* and by learning the Persian language. Everyday in the evening we move about in the nearby gardens and collect various kinds of flowers. The cool atmosphere is pleasant. I hope that you have succeeded in getting the *Kathakasrautasutra* in a physically healthy state only. My wife also wishes you all good. I greet all the teachers of Govt. School, Pandit Rajarama and others".

July 5, 1901. Srinagar. "May it be good for the scholar Sri Nityananda Shastri. Today a friend of mine came to the garden known as '*Nasimbagh*' to see me. (Today i.e. Wednesday) As I went to the city, I did not see him. Therefore, tomorrow also I am going to the city to see him. If you come on Friday for study, I may be seen".

September 1, 1901. Srinagar. "I came to know from an attendant that a devastating infectious disease (*Mahamari*) has spread in two nearby villages and I asked my doctor friend yesterday as to what could be done. His piece of advice is this – This place should be left. There is no fear around the city. We two had then come to the Munshi Bagh garden. I will be available if you come at five o'clock



tomorrow. Everyday I will be available at the same time. We get immense pleasure always by seeing you here. I would like to listen to the *Darsapurnamasa* and things related to that".

October 11, 1901. *Marinagar*. "A. W. Stratton sends this letter combined with '*svasti*' words to Sri Nityanand Shastri, a great scholar of Kashmir. For many days I have been thinking of replying to your letter, everyday many have to be written and this is given up afterwards. Yesterday when I sat for that, the second letter had arrived. Raisahib is not seen here. I hope I see him in *Lavapura*. I am especially indebted to you for whatever you did for the book of Pandit Anand Rajanaka. Your favour will further be increased if the writer copies that in clear *Sharada* letters and you go through that. I will eagerly await the acquisition of that book. You will appear for the examination in *Vasanta*. Therefore, anyone than you, should engage in the writing work. Whatever you had informed about the book '*Paksayaga*', it is pleasing. I will be happy to find in *Lavapura* those *sutras* which Isvarachandra remembers. I wish ever lasting well being to you".

October 16, 1901, *Marinagar*. "Praying for the well being of scholar of scholars Sri Nityanand and congratulating him, A.W. Stratton sends this letter. I heard the name of Pandit Mukandram's residence but forgot it. Therefore, I send this letter to you. You may kindly reach this in his hands. Agdon *memsahib* had set on a journey last Saturday along with friends. We two shall leave on Friday. I would like to leave for *Lavapura* after reading the *Nirukta* and *Kosasamgraha* written in Persian language, the book which is with me. I hope Pandit Mukandram too will assist me there. Will you search for the books dealing with the *Yajnasamskara* so that I may obtain them? Pandit Sri Rajaram had promised to Sri Raisahib that he would hand over to his highness the catalogue of the books remaining at his house. Have you seen it? He would permit to copy the



book '*Agnyadhanapaddhati* (or *Prayoga*). Apart from these two, I did not hear anything about it. Dr. Vogel sahib will hand over to me his book in birch leaves. My wife also prays for your everlasting prosperity".

December 22, 1901. "By the auspicious words like 'May you be pleased' and other words A.W. Stratton salutes to the great scholar Pandit Nityanand and informs: One book of gloss and three letters have been obtained today. The fourth letter is obtained which is not sent in the next letter. Here, the cause for my delay is to be cited. This is it: some changes have been made last in rules and regulations of the *Madhyama* examination, which are not known to many. Everyday some letters are received here, conveying the candidate's ignorance of the changes. Due to this, there has been great work in the office. Besides that, earlier there was an association in the month of January, by the name 'convocation' after the examination is over. This year they are in different time and in different school. Therefore, my trouble has become more. But today onwards there will be less work. As I get time, I shall first reply to your letters. Maharaja sahib arrived in the '*convocation-samaj*' yesterday along with his brother and ministers. Today I saw Raisahib. He is healthy. It is heard by me in a sad mood that not even a single penny has been recovered from the amount stolen from your house. I received the gloss (*tika*) sent by you and felt happy. I wish I obtain the *Kathakagrhya* book in a happy mood. You may send the fair copy of that. You know that there are five *prapathaka*, called as *Kathakani*, at the end of *Taittiriya Brahmana* and in the beginning of *Taittiriya Aranyaka*. They must indeed be well known in the *Katha* branch, but only the persons of *Taittiriya* branch remember them. Similarly, the following names of books have been seen by me in the catalogue:-

*Kathakachayanaproyoga*

*Kathakaprayogavrtti*

*Kathakagniprayoga* (in the *Bodhayana* branch) and



*Charakasoutramani* (in the *Asvalayana* branch).

I suppose that these also belong to the *Kathaka* by import. I try to get them. In the published text of *Kathiyasutra Bhasya*, there are the *Brahmanas* and *Sutras* of *Kathas* 153 times, the *Bhasya* too is incomplete. I had a hope that Pandit Isvarachandra would remember the *Sutras* and read them for us. Because, when Sankara Panduranga Pandita was bringing out the *Atharvaveda Samhita*, some scholars of *Atharvaveda* were able to edit and complete that by their memory. You inform to me how much money should be given to the writer. And how much money has been given by you for my works. [Coming to me, going to Pandit Isvarachandra's house, searching for the books, editing and other things done by you for my sake this year]. I and *memsahib* wish you accomplishment of your desire and welfare".

An undated letter from Nityanand to Stratton.

"May Sri Babusahib whose form is embellished by innumerable good qualities and whose mind is engaged in others' welfare only accept this and know the information sent by Sri Nityanand Shastri from Srinagar. I came to know from Pandit Ramachandra that your *Majesty* had been to some other place on some other work. So far I did not commune with you. Only one letter was sent, that might be received. You also did not mention it clearly whatever is to be done by me in the matter of the work '*Isvarapratyabhijina*'. Kindly write about it in detail. One day Pandit Ramachandra came to my house and sought my help saying that he was encouraged by you to write the book '*Pratyabhijna*'. I was requested by him to help by way of editing etc. He was not even to be seen afterwards. I don't know the reason in that. I shall be engaged by all means in the task ordered by you. I pray to the lord for your complete welfare by the grace of God. May it be good".

The year 1901 saw Vogel being drafted into Indian



Archaeological Survey as Surveyor General. Prior to taking this assignment, he went to visit his native country, Holland. Nityanand followed the great orientalist through letters and remained in constant contact with him. To a letter sent by Nityanand, Vogel wrote to him on February 2, 1901.

"Dr. Vogel of Holland sends this information combined with '*svastivada*' to Sri Nityanand Shastri, a great scholar who is the teacher in Government School, Srinagar, who stands true to his name. The letter which is called as '*Krstamaskart*' being indicative of your deep affection has reached Holland crossing over many oceans ascending mountains and came into my hands last week like own pigeon. Soon after my departure from Kashmir, I have been appointed by the Lord of the *Panchanada* (Punjab) as the Archaeological Surveyor. Therefore, I stayed in Europe for a short time entertaining my relatives, friends and scholars by narrating the incidents of my stay in a foreign land and returned to India by a big ship again. I must attend to many things after coming to *Lavapura* and after being appointed as officer and assigned with new responsibilities. All the ancient temples, buildings, forts, *stoopta* and *stambha* and others should be seen and depicted by me. Due to that, hardly I get some time to study the *Sastra*. After a year, I may come again to Kashmir by the grace of Lord and learn from you drama, *Kavya* and others on the bank of the lake *Padma* sitting in a beautiful garden under the dense trees enjoying the cool breeze and may feel awfully happy."

In the year 1900, John Marshall (1876-1958) came to India and was drafted in the Archaeological Survey of India. Stein was then on his way to England and Vogel already inducted into the Survey was stationed at Lahore. Vogel gave much information to Marshall regarding Kashmir's rich archaeological wealth and Sanskrit learning. For Marshall's first visit to Kashmir in 1907, the



arrangements were chartered from Lahore. In this tour Marshall was accompanied by Spooner. Vogel informed Nityanand about their arrival.

"May Nityanand Shastri, a great scholar who has the darkness of *avidya* dispelled by the moonlight of the excellent fame obtained by acquiring the knowledge of the import of all *sastras*, who has his form embellished by the row of gems of all pure qualities, who stands as the best scholar of all great scholars of Kashmir, who enriches the grandeur of Srinagar and who makes his friends eternally happy – hear this communication preceded by the uttering 'svasti' sent by Vogel. My heart is touched with immense joy when I receive a letter, conveying the good news of your safety, written by your lotus like hands. However I am awfully sad to know the bad news of your house being burnt and your wealth being stolen. It is a matter of surprise, why the wretched fate subjects pious people like you to His anger of that sort? Otherwise, scholarship is the treasury to a scholar. Due to my ill fate, I was attacked by a chronic disease for three months. Even now, my body is weak. However I am able to do my works [able to attend to my duties]. In a week, two friends by name Marshall and Spooner are ready to set on journey to Kashmir from Simla. They would like to visit famous temples like Martanda and others. Due to my illness, I shall not go. I don't know when I am going to behold Kashmir and your moon-like face, by the grace of fate. I wish your well-being always".

Prior to this joint visit by Marshall and Spooner, the latter had visited Kashmir earlier and had become the vehicle of Sanskrit learning reaching Harvard University in America. He had come in contact with Mukandram, Hara Bhat besides Nityanand. They exchanged correspondence. A precious letter has survived the loss and neglect and is important from a historical perspective throwing light on Kashmiri Pandit contributions to learning



of Sanskrit in America. This is a letter Spooner wrote to Nityanand. 18, Stearus Road, Brookline, Massachusetts, U.S.A. March 11, 1905. "Very many thanks indeed for your new year card. It was very kind and thoughtful of you to send it to me and it gave me much pleasure. Dr. Woods gave it to me one night when I was dining at his house and we had a good long talk about our Kashmir days. Won't you write me a letter now that you know my address? I should be very glad to hear from you, to know how you are and all about my friends in far-off Srinagar. How is Pandit Hara Bhat Shastri and Pandit Mukandram? I wrote to him but he has never replied to my letter. But your pretty card shows me that you at least have not forgotten me and I am hoping that you will let me hear all the news. I only wish I were near enough to run upto Kashmir again this summer. It used to seem dreadfully far from *Kashi* but from *Americdesha* – dear me, it is hopeless. I can hardly realize that I was ever with you, all the world is so different here. Think of it. Out of the five thousand students in Harvard University, only nine study Sanskrit and five of those are beginners learning *Rama*, *Ramo*, *Ramaha* (or whether to be quite exact *Rama*, *Ramam*, *Ramen*, for they do not learn it in the same order here.) I'm still a student myself one of the nine, but my work is chiefly *Vedic* and *Pali*. My thesis is all the classical Sanskrit I got now, but it means a great deal of work. I am trying to edit Mallinatha's commentary on the *Meghaduta*, with a translation and notes and really it is not easy to translate a *tika*. Even when I understand what it means it does not go readily into English. My examinations come in June and after that I do not know what I shall do. I should like very much to return to India but that may not prove possible. If I were rich and could go where I pleased it would be different. Don't you suppose you could persuade the Maharaja to give me some position in Jammu or Kashmir? Must speak to him about it. And now I must say



goodbye for the present. Thank you, again for your card and let me hear from you soon. Give my *salaams* to Pandit Hara Bhat Shastri and Mukandram”.

What followed this interaction was a four-volume commentary on *Taittiriya Upanishad* by Nityanand for David Brainerd Spooner, the Harvard scholar. Following the dictates of his desire to return to India and his hope to serve the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in some position consistent to his pursuits, Spooner was taken into the Indian Archaeology and posted at Peshawar. Here Spooner became interested in study of iconography. January 9, 1909. Peshawar, North Western Circle. Spooner wrote to Nityanand. “By the way do you happen to know anything about the *shilpshastrani* which give account of temple buildings and the carving of images. Are there any old manuscripts of such *sutras* in Kashmir. I shall be very much obliged for any information, you may be able to give me about them”.

The year 1906 was eventful in a political sense. Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, visited Kahmir and two Pandits had the honour to experience their hour of glory. They were Pandit Mukandram and Pandit Nityanand. Both were drafted by the Royal Council on behalf of Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to present and make a welcome address to the visiting Viceroy. Pandit Mukandram sent an illuminated address and Nityanand sent the Viceroy his welcome letter. The Viceroy was pleased to accept both. Viceroy's camp, November 8, 1906. “I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of today's date and to convey the Viceroy's best thank for the illuminated address you have been good enough to send. His Excellency fully appreciates your kind thoughts”. This official communication addressed to Mukandram was signed by W.C. Dunlop Smith. And likewise a similar confirmation was sent by Smith to Nityanand from the Viceroy's camp on the following day, November the 9th 1906. “I am directed



before leaving the territories of His Highness the Maharaja, to acknowledge your kind letter of welcome".

Earlier the Viceroy had visited the Pampore School on 31st October. Nityanand was invited by the Maharaja to make presentation in Sanskrit verse. The task was achieved with success. The Foreign Department issued a document bearing number 3770 dated 28th November 1906 under the signatures of Raisahib Bhagat Narayan Das, M.A., Foreign Minister to His Highness of Maharajasahib of Jammu and Kashmir state. It was addressed to Nityanand who was then Sanskrit teacher at the State High School. "On the occasion of the inspection by His Excellency the Viceroy, of the Pampore School on the 31st October, 1906, You were permitted by His Excellency to present to him some Sanskrit verses which he was gracious enough to accept. His Excellency at the time asked to tell you that he was very pleased to receive the verses by you on the occasion of His Excellency's visit".

While Mukandram remained in constant communication with Grierson in England, Stein also had some good reason to refer and recommend Nityanand to Grierson. It was on account of this reference that communication started between Nityanand and Grierson which resulted into a lasting friendship and collaboration to edit various Kashmiri texts that were published from Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta in the later decades. A reference to a letter dated July 21, 1912, from Surrey, England, that Grierson wrote to Nityanand confirms this fact. "I am much obliged to you for your letter dated June 15th and for the copy of *Kashmiri Bhasa Pratham Pustak* which you have been so kind to send to me. The latter I have found interesting and instructive. It is very kind of you to offer to help me in obtaining Sanskrit and Kashmiri books and when I require any I shall bear it in mind".

In the autumn of year 1913, Stein recommended the American scholar R. Hobarts to take lessons in Hindi and



Sanskrit from Pandit Nityanand. Hobarts was on a holiday visit to Kashmir and had expressed the desire to read some Hindu texts out of his appreciation for Hindu scriptures. Stein arranged this brief interaction between Nityanand and Hobarts and the latter took his lessons from the former. He was deeply impressed by Nityanand's scholarship and qualities of his head and heart. October 15, 1913, Hobarts recorded. "Pandit Nityanand has been reading *Premasagar* and the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas with me for a fortnight. He is a sound Hindi scholar and has also been of great assistance to me. A pleasant and quiet man with real love for Sanskrit and Hindi literature".

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## Chamba Inscriptions

The results of oriental studies between the years 1902-1913 have been perhaps as rewarding to the understanding of Kashmiri language through epigraphy as has been the pioneering work of the *Rajatarangini* on the ancient history of Kashmir. Even though David Spooner, A.H. Francke and even to some extent Aurel Stein had taken help from Kashmiri Pandits like Mukandram and Hara Bhat for the study of Kashmir epigraphy and archaeology, their findings initiated the continuing interest in these subjects. A significant breakthrough came from J.Ph. Vogel and Nityanand Shastri through the results of epigraphical works that Vogel carried out between 1902 to 1908 at Chamba. The pioneering work that they undertook was the evaluation of rock and copper inscriptions found from the sites at Chamba, now Himachal Pradesh, then a part, forming the Punjab province of North-West Circle. Vogel discovered the fragments of pottery, rock and copper plates with inscriptions that were archaic and incomplete. This led him to a dead end to derive any comprehensive meaning and conclusions.

It is well known that among the western Himalayan scripts, the *Sharada* alphabet has a place of pride. Evolved from north western *Brahmi* a millennium ago in the 9th century A.D. it remained in popular use for several centuries in an extensive area of western Himalaya that included north-western frontier provinces, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Ladakh. The epigraphic and literary records written in this script that have been found in this region have thrown light on many facets of the history and culture of the areas of their provenance. The inscriptions of famous Hindu Shahi dynasty of Kabul,



Ohind and Shahi dynasty of Gilgit, bulk of epigraphic and literary records of Kashmir produced from the 9th century onwards and the inscriptions characters on copperplates, fountain stones and temples of Chamba and Kangra are written in *Sharada* script. This fact considerably enhances the value of study of this regional alphabet. Like the *Brahmi* and *Kharosti* in the ancient period, the *Sharada* script in the early medieval period found a vital link in the chain of communication of ideas, knowledge and culture among states comprising the western Himalayan region.

As in this part of the country, the *Brahmi*, the well-known national script of ancient India, continued to be also a popular mode of writings in western Himalayas. During the long period of its use, *Brahmi* alphabet passed through several changes of development and its characters assumed different forms in different areas and by about seventh and succeeding centuries the original appellation gave way to regional denominations like *Bangla*, *Oriya*, *Marathi*, *Tamil*, *Telugu* and *Nagari*. The *Sharada* was one such denomination. It evolved as the direct descendant of the *Brahmi* around 9th century A.D. The earliest known records in which *Sharada* character appeared for the first time are the coins of Utpala dynasty of Kashmir and brief record incised on the fragments of broken jar discovered from the precincts of *Avantisvamin* Temple containing name of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) the founder of the temple. Of about the same date is the *Sarahan Prasasti* of queen Somaprabha, spouse of Stayki, a ruling chieftain of *Sarahan* opposite *Saho* in ancient Chamba. Among the other records are the *Brhamor* and *Sengal* (Chamba) copperplate inscriptions of king Yugakaraverman and his son Vidhagadhadeva.

*Sharada* remained an alphabet par excellence of Kashmir till the 12th century and owed its name to the valley from ancient times as *Sharada Desha* or *Sharada Mandla*. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal Pradesh and



Punjab upto 13th century when it was replaced by its descendant, the *Devashesha* which in turn gave rise to modern alphabets of *Gurmukhi* and *Takari*.

On the basis of *Sharada* character used in these records, the successive stages of development of *Sharada* alphabet can easily be discovered. The earliest phase is represented by inscriptions and coins of the 9th-10th centuries, second by those of 11th-13th centuries and third and final by the epigraphic and literary records of 14th and subsequent centuries. While the use of *Sharada* alphabet in the inscriptions dates from 8th century A.D., its use in manuscripts however is not known earlier than 12th century. *Munimata-Manimala* birch bark manuscript is the earliest known manuscript discovered in Kashmir so far assignable to the 14th century. It is today believed to be in deplorable condition in Sanskrit manuscript library of Research Department, Kashmir. The other early known manuscript is the birch bark manuscript of *Sakuntala*. This manuscript represents the Kashmiri recension of Kalidasa's *Abhijnana Sakuntala*. It was procured by Georg Buhler from Kashmir in 1875 and mentioned in catalogue (1875-1876) of Deccan College, Pune.

Vogel's initial exploratory and self-learning visit to Kashmir in the summer of 1900 resulted in his coming in contact with Nityanand. Their association led to a lifelong friendship combined with their joint pursuits, whose results have become most pioneering in the Kashmir epigraphy. Vogel took up these studies while he was drafted into Archaeological Survey of India. As the two scholars were stationed distantly, Vogel at Lahore and occasionally at Simla and Nityanand all through at Srinagar, it resulted in the necessity of regular communication relating to their joint work. The correspondence also indicates a deep personal bond between the two which on one end shows a deep admiration by Vogel of Nityanand's vast knowledge of Sanskrit and on the other a friendship based on emotions



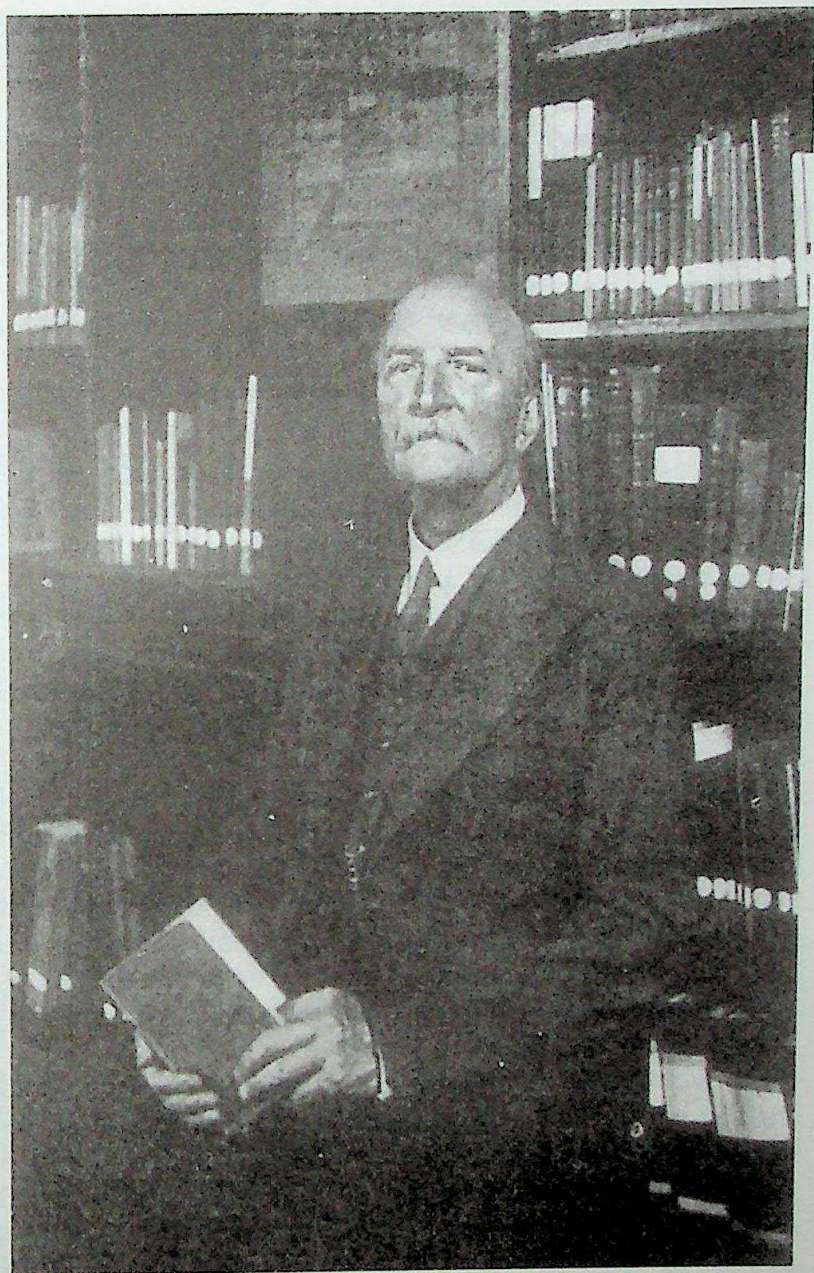
and human values.

"May Sri Nityanand Shastri pay heed to the words of student Vogel of Holland. I was very happy on receiving a letter from you along with the *Panchang* engraved in *Sharada* letters. I am awfully grateful to you for that. I wanted that type of *Panchang*. I have another request to make, if any poor Brahmin has an ancient book of the *Gopathabrhamana* in a manuscript form in his house. Take it for me. I shall certainly give the poor Brhamin some money. It would be even more grand if it is possible to get a birch manuscript. Please send it in a wooden box through *dak* to the city Simla".

"Dr. Vogel of Holland desires to convey this to Sri Pandit Nityanand Shastri, a great scholar who stands true to his name, who is the crest jewel of Srinagar, who has his mind satisfied with the essence of many sciences and who is a dearer friend. I was unable to reply your three letters from Srinagar this year. It is due to my new job and many other works. But today there should not be any delay. I have a strong desire to visit Kashmir again. However I am not free now. Therefore I am not in a position to tell when I can make a visit. Certainly when the lord favours, I shall come there. Srinagar, the principle ornament of the Himalayas and embodiment of grandeur looks magnificent to me. I am eager to see you also. Besides I had control over the ancient temple of Punjab and Blauchistan earlier, now I am being ordered to look after that in Kashmir. I only pray you to calm my agitated mind by writing a letter and conveying my wishes for your well-being always."

"*Om Svasti*, Salutations to *Sri Ganessa*. May Sri Nityanand Shastri who is the best scholar of Kashmir, who has mastered all *sastras* and who has many good qualities, accept this letter written by a student Vogel of Holland. What is the reason for this long gap, for I did not receive a letter from Nityanand Shastri which increases my joy always? Is it because of many works you did not get time





*Professor J.Ph. Vogel; b. 1871 d. 1958*



to remember me? Or let the sin subside, is the great scholar unable to write due to illness? Thus thinking in many ways, I had a heart breaking doubt. I was indeed very happy to get this auspicious letter conveying your well-being and best fruits which look like the embodiment of friendship on this auspicious day of beginning of the rainy season. However some delay has taken place in replying to your letter due to my indulgence in official duties and other works. What more to write. I hope to see my dear friend soon”.

“May Sri Nityanand Shastri having all good qualities hear the request made by Dr. Vogel. I feel ashamed of my self because I did not reply to you even after four months since I received your letter. What more, my association with many official works only is the cause of that delay and not any decrease in affection. The two months of last summer were spent in *Sri Champapuri* which is the crest gem of the great mountains. In that place I saw many old copperplates in Sanskrit in *Sharada* script bearing the inscriptions of ancient kings. I would like to bring them to light by the help of printing press. I am eager to know if such copperplates are there in Kashmir. I was awfully sad to know about the sudden death of our good friend from *Champa Nagara*. Due to this only fate of wretched people like us is stated to be transient like water drops fallen on lotus leaf. The memory of exceptional qualities like goodness, humbleness etc. will last in the hearts of friends. My sincere prayer is that by the grace of lord, you may live long and healthy.”

In the spring of 1902, Vogel's friend Mr. T.W. Arnold, then Professor of the Government College at Lahore, first drew his attention to Chamba as a possible field of antiquarian research. Vogel at first foresaw little the wealth of epigraphical records that pretty hill state would prove to contain. Sir Alexander Cunningham had visited Chamba in 1839 and devoted to it a few pages in two of his well-



known volumes. In these he discovered the inscribed images of *Meru Varman* and chief temples in that place, besides gave a list of local *Rajas*. He also mentioned the existence of four inscriptions, three on copperplates and one on stone slab in Chamba. However, here as elsewhere, the great pioneer of Indian archaeology, Cunningham, only demarcated the field leaving it to others for further exploration.

During the years 1902 to 1908, Vogel was able to devote part of the summer months to the pleasant task of making inquiries into antiquities of Chamba. In the course of his tours, he succeeded in recovering one hundred and thirty inscriptions. This result mainly was achieved by Vogel due to the vigorous support which he from the outset of his researches received from His Highness Sir Bhuri Singh, the *Raja* of Chamba. Yet many an inscription was discovered due to the information supplied by officials who acted under the orders of Sir Bhuri Singh. The collection of these antiquarian objects of Chamba found a safe place of their lodgement in the local museum which was opened on the 14th September, 1908 and rightly named as Sir Bhuri Singh Museum to testify his interest in the antiquities and past record of his state.

The importance of these inscriptions for local history, it is hardly necessary to emphasize. They do not help to solve any of the great problems of Indian history but they enable to write a more detailed and coherent story of Chamba than of any other Himalayan state excluding Kashmir. These records moreover throw side lights on the history of neighbouring territories where ancient documents are less available and every bit of information is of value. Even in places where historical documents do exist their contents can often be confirmed with supplementations by the Chamba inscriptions. This is particularly in the case of Kashmir. The famous *Rajatarangini* is replete with information about the 11th and 12th centuries, the same



epoch to which the bulk of Chamba inscriptions belong. Thus it happens that Kalhana's chronicle imparts life to the stone and metal slabs of Chamba whilst these contemporary documents in turn confirm the trustworthiness of the great chronicler of Kashmir, Kalhana.

In the course of Vogel's own researches in Chamba, the excellent annotated editions of *Rajatarangini* both in Sanskrit and English were one of the main guides to him. Thus it was no small satisfaction to Vogel to continue in Chamba the work so splendidly inaugurated in Kashmir by Stein. There is one reason which lends the antiquities of Chamba an interest far exceeding the narrow limits of local history. It is that, the past to which they belong is connected with the present by a tissue of unbroken threads. Whereas in other and more exposed parts of India, one dynasty was quickly ousted by another, new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones and successive waves of foreign invasions swept away all remembrance of the past.

Chamba engirdled by her snow-clad mountain barriers had century after century retained ancient traditions and institutions, which however were gradually giving way to the irresistible onslaught of modern civilization. Chamba was then still ruled by a descendant of the noble house whose scions had fought in the civil war of Kashmir side by side with *Harsa* and *Susala*. The record of such history was still intact in the inscriptions of Chamba and among the inscriptions discovered by Vogel some were distinguished by no small degree of literary ability such as eulogies of *Sarahan*, *Devi-ri-kothi* and *Mulkihar*. But the great majority did not attain a high standard of scholarship and yet whatever erudition they display was borrowed from the neighbouring seat of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir. Though inferior in literary interest, the Chamba inscriptions are highly important from paleographical point of view. For they form an uninterrupted series of *Sharada* records ranging from the time when the script was evolved out of



the western Gupta alphabet down to Muslim period when it developed into *Gurmukhi*, *Takari* and other modern writings.

In studying these inscriptions Vogel had one aim in his mind and it was to show that *Sharada* was once extensively used both in the plains and the hills of Punjab and even though the character was remarkably conservative, yet its forms were by no means so immutable as the best authorities on Indian paleography had supposed. According to Vogel, the Chamba records displayed a slow but distinct development. He was confident to conclude that they supply a reliable base for establishing date of any document written in this script. However Vogel was confronted with a great difficulty in determining the chronology of Chamba epigraphs owing to almost exclusive use of *Lokakala* era. He discussed these thorny questions with authorities on the subject in Kashmir followed by a check by so good an authority as Professor Keilhorn. But more intriguing were the defacements these inscriptions had suffered besides reading the archaic character of *Sharada* script.

The number of inscriptions found in Chamba state were no less remarkable than their variety. By examining these inscriptions three types were identified by Vogel:

- a) record of the consecration of temples – *Pratistha sasana*
- b) grants by former kings – *Vastu sasana*
- c) the laudatory inscriptions – *Prasasti patta*

The inscriptions on stone slabs were sometime either records of consecration or eulogies. Very often the two were combined as in the *Sarahan Prasasti* which was primarily intended to record the erection of *Siva's* temple but the greater part of which was devoted to the praise of founder's spouse. Likewise were the *Devi-ri-kothi* inscriptions, which at the same time were *Prasastis* also. The Narayan image in itself though much damaged bore an inscription also.



According to Vogel, the fountain of *Devi-ri-kothi* was built by Balha, the widow of local Rana for the benefit of her deceased lord. The inscription showed slim strokes with distinct nail heads or wedges at the top. Even more clearly was the eulogy expressed in solemn Sanskrit which was hidden under the weight of historical ornament under which was felt the pulsation of true love. Like the *Sarahan* eulogy, the damaged eulogy of *Devi-ri-kothi* spoke of yet another love. A noble lady who at her husband's death, ready to follow him on the pyre was kept back by her two sons and who henceforth whilst by her rigid vows of constant fast she reduced her body to meagreness, brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to *Krsna*. And conceiving at every step, the world of living to be unstable like crescent reflected in a garland of waves restless and trembling with fleeting breeze, she caused a cistern to be made for the sake of bliss of her lord. Similarly in the *Sarahan* eulogy, the hero was inspired merely by the fair form of beautiful love for Somaprabha. The love song sung is carved in the stone. To prove his sincerity and to establish a firm friendship between her and the mountain-born goddess, the hero built a temple to the moon-crowned *Siva*.

Impressed by such account that *Sarahan Prasasti* and *Devi-ri-kothi* inscriptions gave, Vogel recorded "I know of no Indian inscriptions in which true human sentiment finds so eloquent an expression as in these two, alas, but irreparably mutilated fountain slabs. Nor would it be easy to point to another group of epigraphical records in which the feminine element is so prominent as in these two". According to Vogel, the *Prasasti* of *Sarahan* also gave record of earliest *Sharada* inscriptions in Chamba and attributed these to 9th or 10th century.

Vogel assessed the *Sarahan Prasasti* inscriptions in 1905. It was located in the village temple of *Sarahan* situated on the left bank of Sal rivulet. The insignificant little building







had an inscribed stone which was remarkable both for its workmanship and preservation. The inscriptions were carved on the front and back of the slab. The inscribed sides were 22 inches in width and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height. It consisted of twenty two lines of which eleven each measuring 21 inches in length were found on the obverse and the remaining nine lines each of  $20\frac{1}{2}$  inches long on the reverse, the last line being only  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The average size of letters was  $\frac{3}{5}$  inches.

Vogel found obverse in a perfect state of preservation. However some small pieces had flaked off along the edges. This had however not affected the lettering. Of the reverse the two upper corners were broken by which the first and last *aksaras* of twelfth line had become lost. With such a state of dilapidation, the *Prasasti* presented an epigraphical problem. Vogel placed the problem before Nityanand who subsequently investigated the problem.

'The inscription records the foundation of temple dedicated to the moon-crowned *Siva* by an individual called *Satyaki*, the son of *Bhagota* and married to a lady named *Somaprabha*. The greater part of the poem is devoted to the praise of this lady whose charms are extolled in flowery style of Indian erotica. No more information is given regarding the donor but we may infer from certain expressions and especially from the term *Narendra* applied to him and from that of *Devi* applied to his consort that he belonged to warrior caste.

Of the above broken and missing parts restored in the inscriptions Vogel recorded, "I have restored these in accordance with conjecture made by Pandit Nityanand Shastri of Srinagar, Kashmir. Here I believe the restoration may be regarded as certain. For the rest the execution is such that there cannot be slightest doubt as to the meaning of any of the characters".

In 1905, on the side valley of *Bera Nala* in *Currah Wazarat*, Vogel inspected a temple of goddess *Camunda Devi*



at the *Devi-ri-Kothi*. The building decorated with quaint frescoes and curious carvings in *deodar* and *shisham* wood was erected in 1754 A.D. by Raja Umed Singh. Here he inspected the important inscription carved on a stone slab 18½ inches high and 10½ inches wide. It was a fountain inscription of *Rajanaka Nagapala* of the 17th year of Lalitavarman (A.D. 1159-1161). In its upper proper right corner, a rectangular piece of 4 inches into 3¾ inches was cut so as to make the slab fit into overlapping top stone which bore another inscription. The inscriptions consisted of twenty five lines and composed in Sanskrit poetry. From the fact that the number of stanzas began with 10, it was evident to Vogel that the slab contained only the second half of *Prasasti*. It was said to have been removed by a Lama some forty years ago who had carried it off to *Pangi* across the *Cini pass*. Whether this was true or not, the stone was no longer in situ. It was deplored by Vogel all the more as the inscription had both literary and historical interest. The remaining slab moreover which contained the second half of inscription was also badly damaged. The surface too had peeled off more or less all along the edge of the stone. In this manner even the first line had half disappeared. The marginal portions of lines 7-25 were lost. The number of missing syllables varied from three to about twenty. The end of lines 17 to 25 were also completely destroyed so that of the last two lines only few syllables in the centre were traceable. Confronted with such a riddle, Vogel traced his steps yet again to Nityanand.

"Vogel desirous of knowledge, belonging to Holland, salutes and wishes to convey this to Sri Nityanand Shastri, who is the best among the scholars of Kashmir, who has mastered all *Sastras*, who is endowed with all good qualities, who enriches the grandeur of Srinagar and who stands true to the meaning of his name. There is a very beautiful place by name *Champa* being the embellishment of the mountain. There is an old source of water in a certain



place blessed by the abode of *Sri Chamunda*. In the same place there is a eulogy inscribed on an old rock in the beautiful script of *Sharada*. I am sending to you the replica of that and a copy of that in *Devanagari* script. The reason is, my utmost hope is that you being a great scholar of Sanskrit language may guess and fill the lacunae caused by the breaking in the rock. It is aptly remarked by somebody – *Hanumana* crossed over the ocean and what is impossible for the great souls like you? Besides I have got another hope, looking forward to the moment when my eyes like lillies may open at the sight of my great friend's moon-like face. May it be good".

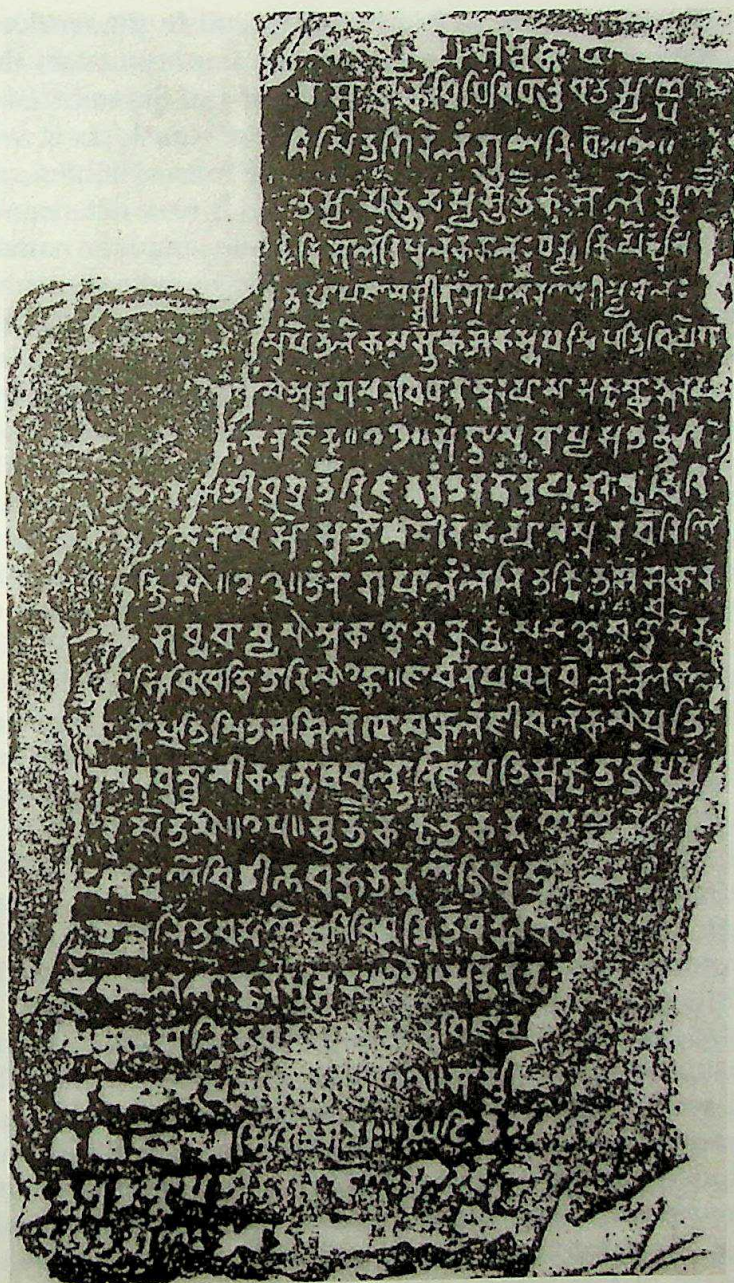
This followed with another letter in similar vein on the same subject.

Kilar, Chamba, August 24, 1905. "I am sending you an inscription and *Nagari* transcript of an inscription which I found at *Devi-ri-kothi* in Chamba state. The inscription must have been written on two stones but one of them has disappeared, so that half the *Prasasti* is lost. This explains why the impression I am sending commences with verse 10. In this part of the inscription also many letters are missing or broken but it will be possible to a certain extent to restore them. I would ask you to try how much you can restore of the missing portions. You will see that the inscription is the record of the construction of a tank by a lady called *Balha*, the mother of a *Rana Nagapala*. You need not return the impression to me".

The task was skilfully achieved by Vogel's friend and teacher, Nityanand.

The verse contained a eulogy of *Nagapala*, who was safely identified with *Rajanaka Nagapala*. From the lost portion of the slab which contained the first half of the inscription, the history of *Nagapala's* family was given. It was determined that *Nagapala* after the death of his father prevented his mother from becoming a *sati* and in following verse, it was conjectured that she devoted the rest of her





Photograph of rock inscription of Devi-ri-kothi, Chamba.



life to the upbringing of her two sons and to the works of piety and religion. It also showed the important fact that King Lalita conferred on *Nagapala* the title of *Rajanaka*. Even though the word expressing the title was lost, it was construed to have been consisting of four syllables and restored as *Rajanaka*. In another verse it was determined that the inscription expressed in exquisite language namely the construction of water tank by *Balha* in memory of her deceased husband. It was inferred that the author of the inscription was *Kamala Lauchana*, the *guru* of Raja. The last verses were benedictory, which concluded the *Prasasti* proper. The remaining three and half prose lines contained the date expressed in *Sastra kala* and the names of the overseers and workmen connected with the construction of the tank referred to in the inscription. It was these missing portions that were restored in this Chamba inscription. The part of the epigraph as remarked above was almost entirely destroyed according to Vogel. But Hanumana had crossed the ocean.

In the beginning of the year 1910, Vogel was engaged in unravelling the secrets of *Markula* image inscription that he had seen earlier in 1907. It attracted his attention since one of the most famous temples of Chamba was that of *Kali* at village *Markula*. The goddess of this temple was referred to as *Markula Devi* from the name of the village. There was an ancient temple to worship this goddess. According to Vogel, as informed to him by Francke, the Buddhists of Lahaul worshiped the goddess of *Markula* as *Do-rje-phag-mo* (Sanskrit *Vajravarahi*). In Nepal it was worshiped as *Bhavani*, the spouse of *Bhairava* – the *Siva*. The idol worshiped in this temple was insignificant and ugly brass statue with eyes of silver. It was two feet high that included a six inches pedestal. On the base of the statuette, there was an inscription in six lines, 8½ inches to 10 inches long. The third line consisted only of six *aksaras* occupying a space of two inches. The last two lines were engraved



more carefully than the rest. The last lines contained the name of the maker of statuette, as *Panjamanka Jinaka* and was indicated to be resident of *Badharva* called *Badharavakesa* in the inscription. The entire inscription was composed in very corrupt Sanskrit, so that most of it was unintelligible to Vogel. He referred the matter to Nityanand.

In a letter from Lahore, dated March 28, 1910 to Nityanand, Vogel wrote, "I am sending you enclosed an impression of a *Sharada* inscription on the image of *Kali Devi* at *Markula* in Chamba state. I should be very much obliged if you could help me to a *Nagari* transcript and English translation of it. The language is not pure Sanskrit but the words appear to be vernacular *bhasha*, perhaps Kashmiri. I hope you will kindly return the impression to me when sending me a reply". Vogel was also thoughtful to remember his other Kashmiri friends by writing "please remember me very kindly to my old friend, Pandit Mukandram Shastri".

Like the *Sarahan* and *Devi-ri-kothi* inscriptions, Nityanand read also the archaic *Markula* inscription to the great satisfaction of Vogel who assigned the inscription to the Muhammadan period.

The task of studying the antiquities of Chamba was completed in the year 1910 itself. Vogel gratefully expressed his sincere gratitude for the manifold assistance received both in the discovery and in the study of the inscriptions of Chamba. He expressed his gratitude to J.H. Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology in India and Dr. J. Hutchison of Scotland Mission for their support. In Vogel's own words "the labour, both physical and mental bestowed on collecting and deciphering these epigraphs has been great. But the labour we delight in physical pain and truly delightful has been the task of revealing the antiquarian treasures hidden in the glorious mountain region which a popular adage so rightly describes – *Chamba-achamba*, Chamba the charming".



J.Ph. Vogel, the veteran author of *Antiquities of Chamba State*, had intended to publish the whole materials of his discoveries in Chamba in two parts. The first part which he published dealt with pre-Muhammadden findings and the second was to deal with the Muhammadden and post Muhammadden periods. It may, however, be pointed out that term Muhammadden was employed more for convenience sake. It referred to the Muslim rule in Punjab in a general way and did not necessarily denote the cultural influence of Islam by which Chamba state was evidently least affected owing to its secluded and sheltered position. After having completed the first part, he had already started on the second part but had to leave it unaccomplished owing to his departure from India to Holland in 1914, then set in the war which made any further progress in the work difficult. Vogel was all through very anxious to see that the work commenced by him was completed somehow or the other. To the end he kept on negotiating with the Archaeological Survey of India for its publication. The publication of the second part as *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India* pertaining to medieval and later inscriptions was also due to the active interest taken by J.Ph. Vogel.

The task of writing the second part of the work was entrusted to Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra, Epigraphist to Government of India sometime in 1938, who had the good fortune of being personally associated with Vogel for having worked under him for a few years at the Kern Institute at Leiden, Holland. It was in the summer of 1938 that then Director General of Archaeology in India, Dr. K.N. Dikshit and Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra visited Chamba again in order to take a view and assessment of materials to be worked upon. Amongst the materials was also found Dr. Vogel's own manuscript consisting of over three hundred pages that was then preserved at Sir Bhuri Singh Museum in Chamba. The manuscript mostly dealt with copperplate inscriptions.



The task was carried in accordance to the plans as envisaged by Vogel. It was in the year 1939 that B.Ch. Chhabra was finally called upon to take up the work. He was assisted by S.K. Dikshit and Krishna Deva. During B.Ch. Chhabra's stay in Chamba which lasted four months much spadework was done. It was a remarkable coincidence that all that was possible with the generous help of *Rajguru* Pandit Thaker Das who had formerly assisted Dr. Vogel as well. He was admittedly the only person alive in Chamba who could understand and interpret the language of old documents. The final publication appeared in 1957. Luckily Dr. Vogel was still alive then. He was hale and hearty. In spite of his advanced age, he kept himself busy with scholarly pursuits. He celebrated his 86th birthday on 9th January, 1957. In a letter to B.Ch. Chhabra, just a day earlier i.e. on 8th January 1957 which was one of his last letters to his Indian friends, he wrote "that I am in excellent health and still working on my book *Hamsa*. I hope to complete it in 1957, if my *ayuhsheshatvam* allows it".

Between 1939 and 1957, however, many changes took place in the course of progress on second part of the work on Antiquities of Chamba. A stage came when the idea of publishing the work was almost given up. Professor Vogel then came forward urging upon the Government of India the importance and necessity of publication of the second part. He even suggested that the work might be entrusted to the Royal Asiatic Society of London or some other learned Society abroad if it was not possible to have it published in India. After some correspondence, it was decided that the work should be split up into two separate sections, the epigraphy and the general archaeology. Dr. Vogel had also suggested that the work could be jointly taken up by Herman Goetz and B.Ch. Chhabra. The former was to write on temple architecture and paintings and the latter on inscriptions. However, the section of Dr. Goetz



was published separately as *Memoirs* of Kern Institute, Holland under the title 'The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba'. With the last portion of work published so well and with dexterity of scholarship begun by Vogel with the help of Nityanand, the completion of task filled B.Ch. Chhabra with joy that amply compensated for the pains it had cost them. His own words say it better, "*kalesh phalena hi punarnavatam vidhatte.*"

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## The Harvard Edition of Panchatantra

Under the title of *Panchatantra* there has been current in India for many centuries a collection of ancient Hindu popular tales, of which collection the name was made thoroughly familiar in the Occident some 140 years ago by the first great classic in the field of Comparative Literature, the *Pantschatantra: Bucher Fabeln Marchen* of Theodor Benfey published in Leipzig in 1859. These stories are intended for the instruction of princes and in the oldest form of this work they exclusively convey precepts for the clever conduct of life which are of so great intrinsic value, and couched in so attractive a form that in translations and in translations of translations, the collection has had an influence upon literature of Western Asia and of Mediaeval Europe which is quite without a parallel. But not only in Europe and in Western Asia has the *Panchatantra* had a notable history, in its native India also the collection has existed as a collection for some twenty one centuries while the substance of the stories embodied in it is even older than that.

With the European interest initiated about this great treatise by Benfey, it was however left to Prof. Ernst Windisch of Leipzig to arrange for in 1903 the publication of several treatises of *Panchatantra* through the journals of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences. Though Windisch carried the work through his pupil Johannes Hertel, it was mainly to the service done by Prof. Richard Pischel of Berlin and later at Halle upon whose recommendation the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences voted to assign Hertel an income of the Bopp Foundation from 1904 to 1907 for a scientific attempt to edit the collection of ancient Hindu tales in the recension called *Panchakhyana* dated 1199 A.D.



of the Jaina monk Purnabhadra.

Johannes Hertel began his task by procuring various manuscripts of the *Panchatantra*. These numbered no less than 90. The most important amongst these were ones, given to him by Pischel from his Hamburg collection and another by Miss Emma Benfey from her father Theodor Benfey's collection. Of the multitudinous Indian recensions of the work, one of the most important was that which Hertel by the stroke of his good fortune discovered among the manuscripts loaned to him by the Deccan College Library of Poona. It was the oldest known Sanskrit recension of a Kashmiri *Sharada* manuscript that was got by Georg Buhler during his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir. This recension was titled *Tantrakhyayika* and dated about 200 B.C. According to Hertel, "Pandit Sahajabhatta discovered the manuscript of this fine old text".

While the work progressed during the weeks before the long vacation of 1906, Hertel had the pleasure of working on the treatise with Professor Charles Lanman in the former's hometown. It was however to the benevolence of Henry Clarke Warren, pupil and friend of Lanman, that *Panchatantra* was published under the Harvard 'Oriental Series at Cambridge, Massachusetts in the year 1908. Hertel dedicated the work to Dr. Charles Henry Tawney, sometime Librarian of the India Office, London and to his successor Professor Frederick William Thomas.

Acknowledging the help of various scholars in the completion of the edition, Hertel recorded, "I can only hope that my edition may prove to be of a scientific value and importance commensurate with the kind interest which some excellent men have shown in its progress. For this I am greatly obliged to Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris, to Professor Ernst Leuman of Strassburg, to Professor Jacobi of Bonn, to late Professor C. Bendall of Cambridge, to Professor Eugen Hultzsch of Halle, to Mr J.C. Chatterjee



and Pandit Sahajabhatta of Srinagar, to Dr. M. Aurel Stein of the Indian Educational Service and to Professor Leo Von Mankowski of Cracow for their help in providing me the manuscript materials and other resources of their learning".

Following the publication, Hertel further took on himself the task of examining all the manuscripts of the extant treatise and attempted to determine the relations between different recensions of the *Panchatantra* and in ascertaining which was the best manuscript of each. His discovery of the fact that *textus ornatior* better designated by its author the Jaina monk Purnabhadra Suri and the Kosegarten's edition of the *textus simplicior* were wholly uncritical and inner examination revealed that *textus ornatior* was based mainly on *textus simplicior*. This established the uniqueness of the Kashmiri recension – *Tantrakhyayika*.

Accordingly Hertel began the preparations for the critical edition of *Tantrakhyayika* but some delay occurred in execution of the plan. Overcoming a delay of two years in his study on the history of one of the most celebrated works of Indian Literature, Hertel prepared a critical edition of *Tantrakhyayika* and translated it into German in 1910 and thus brought to light one of the masterpieces of Kashmiri Literature.

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## Manual of Kashmiri Language

"Kashmir has an old and interesting literature that is well worth investigating", wrote Grierson in 1916. The discoveries made earlier in Central Asia had brought to light ancient documents written in languages, interpretations of which were unsolved puzzles. However, some investigations indicated to show that the clue to these languages was possible to be found in those tongues of which Kashmiri was the only example which possessed literature.

As the importance of Kashmiri language from a philological consideration was becoming more apparent every day to the Europeans and a number of visitors to Kashmir was also increasing every year at the beginning of first decade of the last century more for the charms of a holiday in the most delightful of all valleys, it was realized that it could materially enhance if the aliens could communicate directly with the local people instead of having to trust to an interpreter. It was against such necessity that preparation of standard manual of Kashmiri language comprising grammar, phrase book and vocabulary was conceived by Grierson.

The work was commenced around 1906 when the sentences were prepared with the aid of two Kashmiris namely Mukandram and Nityanand. The grammar and vocabulary were based upon a minute analysis of these sentences and may therefore claim to be entirely original work of these Kashmiri scholars and the translation of these sentences was made by a native Kashmiri Pandit under Grierson's personal superintendence. The work consisted of three parts – a grammar, a series of sentences of English and Kashmiri and a Kashmiri-English vocabulary. The



greater part of the book was worked out in England without the advantage of a native assistance but no pains were spared to make it as accurate as possible. Grierson had earlier gone through the work with the aid of Mukundram to make the work an accurate illustration of an interesting and little known tongue. The third part of the work which consisted of Kashmiri-English vocabulary was mainly achieved by Grierson with Nityanand's help. It was a painstaking work that took more than a decade to complete. Acknowledging the assistance that Grierson received in completing the task he wrote:

"I have consulted many kind friends both Englishmen and Kashmiris. With their help I have been able to check many doubtful points and gladly take the opportunity of tendering them my sincere thanks. Their intimate knowledge of colloquial Kashmiri affords a guarantee of the correctness of the manual that my unaided efforts could not be expected to supply".

The *Manual of Kashmiri Language* appeared in 1916. It was published by Clarendon Press, London. The only other important printed book in the Kashmiri language that had come before this was on Kashmiri proverbs, a fruitful work of joint efforts of Hinton Knowles and Anand Kaul. It contained more than 1600 Kashmiri proverbs with English transliteration, translation and notes. This work was published in 1885 at Calcutta by Thacker Spink & Company and in London by Trubner & Company. The whole profits of the sale of this work were devoted to the funds of Kashmir Medical Mission Hospital. The work was not only a collection of folklore but was also a storehouse of words and idioms. The other dictionary of Kashmiri language that was earlier published was W. Elmslie's vocabulary (Kashmiri-English, English-Kashmiri). It was published in 1882 by Church Missionary Society.

Paying tribute to Kashmiri scholars who laboured on the *Manual of Kashmiri Language*, Grierson wrote: "The



present work was commenced about ten years ago when the sentences were prepared with the aid of two Kashmiris. I have turned over the pages of manuscript of this work on nearly every day during the past ten years touching it up here and correcting a point there and I confess that I lay my pen down with a feeling of regret. I cannot send forth into the world what has been my daily companion for so long a period in the midst of other and more pressing work without an affection for the well thumbbed and heavily scored pages and a parental anxiety for their successful debut".

### Reference

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## Hatim's Tales and Govind Kaul

Aurel Stein's interest in the language and folklore of Kashmir directly arose from the labours which during the years 1888-1898, he devoted to the preparation of his critical edition of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir* and commentated translation of it. The elucidation of many antiquarian questions which such indulgence implied and which in many ways also constituted an attraction for him was possible only in close touch with Kashmiri Pandit scholars. This also needed constant reference to the traditional lore of the land. The leisure Stein could spare from the onerous and exacting official duties at Lahore for philological portion of these tasks was far too scanty to permit him any serious study of Kashmiri.

But during the eight summer vacations between 1891-1894, he was able to devote in Kashmir particularly those in tours tracing its historical topography and ancient remains, he also took the opportunity to acquire some familiarity with the colloquial Kashmiri language. August 14, 1892. "I made a resolution to learn Kashmiri this year and enjoy the fact that I can use the little I have learned so far." But there was other side to this desire.

Oxford. September 21, 1917. "I should probably have been able to make more systematic use of these opportunities had not convenience and conservative attachment to the classical medium of Kashmiri scholarship made me prefer the use of Sanskrit conversation with my Pandit friends and assistance at Srinagar and wherever they shared my tours and campings".

During the years 1892-1894 George Grierson too had commenced his expert linguistic researches in Kashmiri. His Kashmiri studies were at start directed mainly towards



the publication of remarkable work by which Pandit Ishwar Kaul had endeavoured to fix the phonetic, grammatical and lexicographical standards for the literary form of Kashmiri. Stein too realised the value that could be attached to unbiased phonetic record of specimens of the language taken down at that stage from the mouth of speaker wholly unaffected by quasi-literary influences and grammatical theories.

In the course of Kashmir tours, Stein had been more than once impressed by the clear utterances in the speech of intelligent villagers, very different from the inconsistency which certain phonetic features of Kashmiri seemed to be present in the mouth of townsfolk of Srinagar. Also his interest had been aroused from the beginning by the rich store of popular lore which Kashmir presents in its folk tales, songs, proverbs and the like.

In the course of summer season of 1896, Stein was devoting his labours on the *Rajatarangini*, while he was camped in the alpine seclusion of his cherished Mohand Marg, high up on the spur of great Haramukh peaks. He made use of this chance to secure specimen both of the language spoken in the Sindh valley, the former *Lohara* tract of old Kashmir and folklore text. Hatim Tilawon had been mentioned to him as a professional storyteller who besides also commanded a particular esteem throughout that area. Hatim was a cultivator settled in the little hamlet of Panzil, at the confluence of Sindh River and the stream drawing the eastern Haramukh glacier. Hatim owed his surname to the possession of an oil press.

Hatim was induced to climb upto Stein's camp and favoured him and Pandit Govind Kaul with his recitations. Only with the first recitations both Stein and Govind Kaul were much struck by Hatim's intelligence, remarkable memory and clear enunciation. His repertoire of stories and songs was large. Though wholly illiterate, he was able to recite them at desired rate of speed that suited Govind



Kaul and Stein's ear and pen. Hatim articulated each word separately from the context and whenever necessary without any change in pronunciation. His order of words and phrases never varied even however long an interval he was called upon to recite certain passages again. According to Stein "the indication of two or three initial words repeated from written record would be quite sufficient to set the disk moving in this living phonographic machine."

At first, Hatim did not take kindly to the cold and airy camping place nor to its loneliness as he was of very sociable disposition as his professional calling would often bring him to wedding and other festive village gatherings. With appropriate treatment and adequate douceurs Stein arranged to retain him for over six weeks. Besides then it was a cultivator's season in the village below Mohand Marg, hence Hatim's ministrations were also not needed by them for the time being. However, at the same time Stein was himself under pressure of work involving Kalhana's chronicle, he could not spare more than an hour in the evening. The strain of labours which would begin by daybreak for Stein, were refreshed by a climb in the company of Hatim.

From Mohand Marg, June 19, 1896, in a letter to Harriet Stein (Hetti Stein), Stein's sister-in-law, he wrote "I enjoy the freedom and work eleven hours a day. After dinner I take down Kashmiri tales from the mouth of peasant bard and am thus collecting valuable material which I will put to good use in Europe. Hatim the storyteller is known throughout the Sindh valley and to my great pleasure was brought up here by the authorities". Two months later on August 13, 1896, he again wrote to her "It was good to know that you approved of my idea to write down Kashmiri fairy tales. Its primary purpose was to produce phonetically correct text which up to now has been non-existent for Kashmir. I also think that translating them into



German as I propose to do will be useful. The tales themselves are not wholly original since the people in the valley are better at borrowing and adapting than inventing. But even if the tales themselves are well known and spread all over India, they are welcome addition for certain humorous idioms unfamiliar to Indian spirit".

Progress was necessarily made slow by the care which Stein endeavoured to bestow upon the exact phonetic record of Hatim's recitation. Each word that Stein was not sure of having recorded correctly was repeated by Hatim and sometimes even several times. Whenever a story was completed, Stein used to read out to Hatim who never failed to notice and correct whatever deviation from his text might have crept in through inadvertence or defective hearing. Stein never troubled Hatim with queries about the meaning of particular words or sentences which he did not understand as the objective before him was best served by giving attention upon the functions of a phonographic recorder and discharging the same as accurately as the limitation of his ear and phonetic training permitted him.

This methodology was full of restrictions and limitations. Wrote Stein, "I could not have adopted the safe restriction of my task and might well have hesitated about attempting the record of these materials at all if I had not been assured from the start of Pandit Govind Kaul's most competent and painstaking collaboration. The intimate knowledge which long years of scholarly work carried on in consistent close contact had given me of his methods and standards enabled me to leave certain essential portion of the work entirely to his share and with fullest confidence in the results. I could feel completely assured that with that rare thoroughness and conscientious precision which distinguished all his work on the line of traditional Sanskrit scholar, his record of Hatim's texts written down in *Devanagari* characters simultaneously with my own would





*Hatim Tilawon.*  
(From a photograph by Sir Aurel Stein)



be as exact as the system or want of system of Kashmiri spelling current among the Srinagar Pandits would permit. I was equally certain that he would spare no trouble to make his interpretations of it both in the form of an interlinear word for word version and an idiomatic Sanskrit translation as accurate as possible".

The texts written down by Stein at the time of dictation was always revised simultaneously with Pandit Govind Kaul's text. The interlinear translation was then added in the course of following day after reference to Hatim wherever doubts arose about the meaning of any word or phrase. During part of 1897 when Stein was away to Europe, Pandit Govind Kaul remained busy making idiomatic Sanskrit renderings of Hatims's narrations. But the big *Rajatarangini* task claimed all energy and time of both Govind Kaul and Stein.

During the years which followed the completion of Stein's main labours in Kashmir and his efforts needed to carry out successive Central Asian expeditions and to assure the elaborations of their abundant results kept him away from making definite arrangements for the publication of these linguistic materials. The materials together with Stein's other collection of Sanskrit manuscripts from Kashmir found a safe place of deposit in the India Institute Library at Oxford in 1898. Twelve years later it was a sense of grateful relief that Stien's old friend George Grierson after a preliminary examination kindly agreed in the autumn of 1910 to publish these texts.

This assurance enabled Stein to leave these linguistic treasures in the hands most competent for the task. It was a solution Stein had hoped for, for a long time. He felt a deep gratification at the fact that kindly fate had allowed him to complete it amidst all other great tasks. Stein was also elated with the feeling that the progress which Indian linguistic research for more than a generation past owed to Grierson, had now agreed for its publication.



According to Grierson "They were a first-hand record of the collection of folklore taken straight from the mouth of one to whom they had been handed down with verbal accuracy from generation to generation of professional reciters and in addition they formed an invaluable example of little known language recorded in two ways. One, as it sounded to an experienced scholar and, two, as it was written down in the literary style of spelling. Moreover Hatim's language was not literary language of Kashmiri Pandits but was in village dialect and Aurel Stein's phonetic record of the patois placed alongside the standard spelling of Pandit Govind Kaul gives what is perhaps the only opportunity in existence for comparing the literary form of an oriental speech with actual pronunciation of the reciter."

As work progressed various difficulties asserted themselves. Grierson identified the lacunae left in Govind Kaul's record of Hatim's last tale due to accidental loss of concluding few pages and also some missing words in the text of both. When Grierson brought it to Stein's notice in 1912 he was camped once more at the very spot at Mohand Marg, where he and Govind Kaul had recorded these stories. But alas Pandit Govind Kaul was no longer among the living to give aid. He had died in 1899 and with the years of Central Asia explorations and long labours of their results intervening, those records seemed to Stein "as if gathered in former birth". Fortunately Hatim was still alive but the prosperity increased over the years had made him give up the peregrinations as a public storyteller. However his recollection of stories was as fresh as ever. After sixteen years the texts he recited in 1912 was the same as that which had been copied down in 1896. Hatim once more read through the text with Stein. Stein took the advantage to make corrections by enquiry from the fount of inspiration and obtained solutions to the puzzles that were posed by Grierson. As Govind Kaul was not amongst the living to



take the dictation from Hatim for the missing end of the story, Stein now took help of Pandit Kashiram, the one from whom he had taken his first lessons in Kashmiri speech. Pandit Kashiram took the dictation and it ran exactly as Stein's own record showed it. At the end texts completed thoroughly revised and with the scholarly treatment meted out to these by George Grierson, Hatim's Tales were published in London in 1917. But the publication with its aspects of linguistic importance apart also gave Stein an opportunity to make a record of personal note regarding his "cherished Indian scholar friend" Pandit Govind Kaul, whose devoted assistance was largely instrumental in rendering them of value for linguistic research. He dedicated the work to the memory and honour of Pandit Govind Kaul. Its preface was the memoir.

"It is the greatness of his own share in the work which makes me feel particularly grateful to Sir George Grierson for his ready consent to its dedication to the memory of Pandit Govind Kaul. It affords me an appropriate opportunity for recording some data about the life of a cherished friend and a helpmate whose memory deserves to be honoured for the nobility of his character quite as much as for his scholarly gifts and labours. The association of Pandit Govind Kaul during close on to ten years with my own efforts bearing on the history and antiquities of Kashmir has always been appreciated by me as a special favour of *Fortune*, or – to name the goddess under her own Kashmirian form – of *Sharada*, who is the protectress of learning as well as of the alpine land which claims to be her home; for he seemed to embody in his person all the best characteristics of that small but important class among the Brahmans of Kashmir to which the far-off and secluded mountain territory owes its pre-eminent position in the history of Indian learning and literature.

I cannot attempt to indicate here the evidence to be gathered both from the Sanskrit literary products of



Kashmir and from surviving local tradition, which makes me believe that high scholarly attainment and a special facility of elegant rhetorical or poetic expression were to be found among the truly learned in Kashmir more frequently combined than elsewhere in India with a keen eye for the realities of life, power of humorous observation, and distinct interest in the



*Pandit Govind Kaul; b. 1846 d. 1899*

practical affairs of the country. Kalhana himself, the author of the *Rajatarangini*, with whose personality I felt I was becoming so familiar across the gap of long centuries, seemed aptly to illustrate this typical combination of features. In Pandit Govind Kaul I found them all again and united with a high sense of honour, a bearing of true innate nobility, and a capacity for faithful attachment which from the first made me cherish him greatly as a friend, not merely as an accomplished mentor in most things appertaining to Kashmir and its traditional past. A brief account of his descent and early association will best explain the growth of these strongly-marked characteristics.

Pandit Govind Kaul was born in 1846 as the eldest son of Pandit Balbhadra Kaul (1819-96), who, by reason of his personal qualities, great scholarly attainments, and social position, was universally respected among the Brahman community of Srinagar. Pandit Balbhadra's own father, Pandit Taba Kaul, had been a Sanskrit scholar of great reputation in the closing period of Afghan rule in Kashmir. Being connected as hereditary 'Guru' with the important Brahman family of the Dars he had enjoyed a substantial *Jagir*, and this was allowed to continue when Maharaja



Ranjit Singh's conquest in 1819 established Sikh dominion over Kashmir. Pandit Birbal Dar, his patron, had held an influential administrative position already under the Afgan regime. But he incurred the suspicion of Azim Khan, the last governor from Kabul, and persecuted by him, he was obliged to flee from Kashmir to the Punjab. Of the adventurous escape which he made with his young son Pandit Rajakak, in mid-winter 1818-19, across the snow-covered mountains, and of the cruel treatment endured by those of his family he was obliged to leave behind, Pandit Govind Kaul told me interesting traditions. The experienced advice which Pandit Birbal supplied to Maharaja Ranjit Singh is believed to have contributed greatly to the success of the campaign, which, in the following summer, placed Kashmir in the power of the great Sikh ruler.

The high administrative posts which Pandit Birbal, and after his death his equally capable son Pandit Rajakak, held during the period of Sikh rule in Kashmir (1819-46), necessarily assured a prominent social position and relative affluence also for Pandit Taba Kaul and his son Pandit Balbhadra Kaul. The latter was thus enabled to devote himself during his youth solely to Sanskrit studies, and to lay the foundations of a scholarly renown which made him, from an early date, a prominent figure among the Pandits of Kashmir. But the far-reaching political changes which followed the accession of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the rule of Kashmir at the close of the First Sikh War, in 1846, led to the loss of the family's *Jagir* and threw a heavy strain upon Pandit Balbhadra's resources. Though restricted to what income his functions as hereditary *Guru* and as a teacher of *Sastras* could secure, and maintaining throughout his long life a dignified retirement, Pandit Balbhadra succeeded not only in giving his three sons an excellent education, but in accumulating also an important collection of Sanskrit manuscripts.

His tasks were, no doubt, facilitated by the support he



derived from his close connection with the remarkably able men who succeeded Pandit Birbal as head of the Dar family. Pandit Rajakak, the latter's son (1805-66), had distinguished himself as an administrator already during the troubled times of the closing Sikh regime, and quelled a rebellion in the hill tract of Drava. When conditions had become more settled under the Dogra rule he rose high in Maharaja Gulab Singh's favour by greatly developing the shawl industry of Kashmir, then a monopoly and financial mainstay of the State. Endowed with a genuine love of knowledge and with the intellectual adaptability which has distinguished the best brains of Kashmir through successive historical periods, he had taken care to secure for his son, Pandit Ramjiv Dar (circ. 1850-83), not only a sound training in Persian and Sanskrit, but also some familiarity with English and with Western ways. It was no easy departure in days when close relations with Europeans were apt to be looked at askance as infringing upon the traditional policy of seclusion and the security it was meant to assure.

It was in intimate association with Pandit Ramjiv Dar that Pandit Govind Kaul spent most of his early manhood. The experience he thus gained of the world of affairs, of rulers and ruled alike, did much to widen the horizon of his thoughts and interests beyond that of the traditional student of *Sastras*. Pandit Ramjiv seems to have been a man of an unusually active mind and of considerable practical energy. During his short but fruitful life he had the good fortune to serve a ruler so well qualified as the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh to appreciate his varied mental gifts and activities. It was the cherished aim of the late Maharaja to combine the preservation of inherited systems of Indian thought and knowledge with the development of his country's economic resources along the lines of modern Western progress. Having proved his ability as an administrator of Kashmir districts, Pandit Ramjiv gradually became the Maharaja's trusted adviser in a variety of



departments which were created to further that policy, including those of education, agriculture, sericulture, etc. The manifold administrative duties entrusted to Pandit Ramjiv did not divert his attention from scholarly interests, and consequently he kept Pandit Govind Kaul as much as possible by his side wherever his tours of inspection, etc., took him. Thus Pandit Govind Kaul was able to acquire a great deal of first-hand knowledge of Kashmir and the neighbouring territories in all their varied aspects.

Pandit Govind Kaul had, from his earliest youth, received a very thorough literary training in Sanskrit under his father's direct guidance. In accordance with the traditions of Kashmir learning he had devoted particular efforts to the study of the *Alamkara-sastra* and the poetic literature which is bound up with it. His stock of quotations from the latter seemed inexhaustible. He was thoroughly at home also in *Vyakarana*, *Nyaya* and the *Saiva-sastra*, and he read widely in the *Epics* and *Puranas*. As far as Sanskrit literary qualifications were concerned, he was well equipped for the charge of the Translation Department, to which he was appointed in 1874. By creating it together with a State Press, it was the Maharaja's intention to diffuse knowledge of Sanskrit works on law, philosophy, etc., among wider classes of his subjects through the medium of Hindi. Other branches of the same department were intended to secure the same object with regard to selected works in English and Persian. It is needless to discuss here the practical utility of the scheme or the causes which, owing to the lingering illness of the Maharaja, hampered its execution during the closing years of his reign. It is enough to remember that it provided suitable employments for such highly deserving scholars as Pandit Govind Kaul and the late Pandit Sahajabhatta, who was to become another of my Kashmir assistants, and that among the works undertaken, but never finished, there was also a Hindi translation of the Sanskrit Chronicles of Kashmir.



In 1883 Pandit Ramjiv Dar was carried off by a premature death. Soon after, the Translation Department ceased to exist, together with several other institutions which had owed their creations to his stimulating influence. The last years preceding Maharaja Ranbir Singh's death in 1886 and the first of the reign of his son and successor were for Kashmir a period of transition. Traditional methods of administration and economic conditions bequeathed by long centuries of practical seclusion were giving way without there being the machinery as yet available to effect needful reforms on the lines developed in British India. It was in various ways a trying time for all those representing the intellectual inheritance of the valley, and after a short spell of work as a teacher in the Sanskrit *Pathshala*, maintained by the *Darbar* at Srinagar, on scant pay and that often in arrears, Pandit Govind Kaul found himself without official employment.

His learning and sound method of scholarly work had already, in 1875, attracted the attention of Professor Georg Buhler, when that great indologist had paid his memorable visit to Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. The very commendatory mention which Professor Buhler's report made of Pandit Govind Kaul's attainments and of the help he had rendered, directed my attention to him from the start. The personal impression gained within the first few days of my arrival at Srinagar at the close of August, 1888, was quite sufficient to convince me how amply deserved that praise was. I was quick to notice Pandit Govind Kaul's special interest in antiquarian subjects, such as made me then already form the plan of a critical edition and commentary of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir*. I was equally impressed by his dignified personality, which combined the best qualities of the Indian scholar and gentleman. A short archaeological tour which we made in company to sites round the Dal Lake helped to draw us together in mutual sympathy and regard. So it



was to me a great source of satisfaction when, before my departure for the plains, Pandit Govind Kaul, with his revered father's full approval, accepted my offer of personal employment and agreed to follow me to Lahore for the cold weather season.

It was the beginning of a long period of close association between us in scholarly interests and work. It continued practically unbroken for nearly eleven years, throughout my official employment in the Punjab University at Lahore, and down to Pandit Govind Kaul's lamented death in June, 1899. Neither my visit on leave to Europe nor an interval in 1892-93, when he was tempted to accept employment at the Court of Jammu on H.H. the Maharaja's private staff, implied any real interruption. It was, in the first place, my labours concerning the critical publication and elucidation of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir*, for which Pandit Govind Kaul's multifarious and ever devoted assistance proved of the greatest value. As to the character and extent of this help it is unnecessary here to give details. They have been recorded at length, and with due expression of my gratitude, both in the Introduction to my text edition of the *Rajatarangini*, published in 1892, and in the Preface to the commentated translation of it, with which, in 1900, on the eve of departure for my first Central Asian expedition, I completed my labours bearing on the early history and antiquities of Kashmir.

Nor need I give here details regarding the large share taken by Pandit Govind Kaul in other important if not equally attractive task. I mean the preparation of a classified catalogue of the great collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, over 5000 in number, which, through Maharaja Ranbir Singh's enlightened care, had been formed at the Raghunath Temple Library at Jammu. The support I received from successive British Residents in Kashmir, including the late Colonels R. Parry Nisbet and N.F. Prideaux, and from my old friend the late Raja Pandit Suraj Kaul, then Member of



the Kashmir State Council, furnished me with the means for organizing the labours by which, in the course of 1889-94, this very valuable collection was saved from the risk of dispersion and rendered accessible to research. They were effected mainly through Pandit Govind Kaul and our common friend the late Pandit Sahajabhata. A full acknowledgement of their devoted services will be found in the introduction to the volume which contains the descriptive catalogue, together with the plentiful and accurate extracts prepared by them from previously unknown or otherwise interesting Sanskrit texts.

It would have been quite impossible for me, burdened as I was all through my years at Lahore with heavy and exacting official duties, to undertake the big tasks referred to, had not a kindly *Fortune* provided me in Pandit Govind Kaul with a coadjutor of exceptional qualities. With a wide range of thorough traditional knowledge of the *Sastras* and a keen sense of literary form he combined a standard of accuracy and a capacity for taking pains over details which would have done high credit to any European scholar trained on modern philological lines. Though he was no longer young when he joined me, he adapted himself with instinctive comprehension to the needs of Western critical methods, such as I was bound to apply to all my tasks. With infinite and never-failing care he would record and collate the recordings of the manuscripts upon which I depended for the critical constitution of the *Rajatarangini* text, and also those of other Kashmirian works, almost all unpublished, reference to which was constantly needed for its interpretation. Yet I knew that scrupulously careful as he was about the correctness of his Sanskrit writing and speech, the exact reproduction of all the blunders etc., to be met in the work of often ignorant copyists caused him a kind of physical pain.

It was the same with the labour he had to devote to the collection and sifting of all the multifarious materials



needed for the elucidation of antiquarian problems. However much wanting in style and other literary attractions the Kashmirian text such as *Mahatmyas*, later Chronicles etc., might be which had to be searched, I could always feel sure that none of their contents which might be of interest by their bearing on the realities of ancient Kashmir would be allowed by Pandit Govind Kaul to escape his Index slips. The value of the help he could give me in regard to the latter labours was greatly increased by the familiarity he had gained with most part of the country and its varied population during the years spent by the side of his old Patron, Pandit Ramjiv Dar. Though for various practical reasons I had but little occasion to use Pandit Govind Kaul in that role of travelling camp *literatus* which made his worthy Chinese epiphany, excellent Chiang Ssu-yeh, so invaluable to me during my Central Asian explorations of 1906-8, he was yet exceptionally well able to visualize topographical and other practical facts bearing on archaeological questions.

But perhaps, the greatest advantage I derived from his long association with my labour was the chance it gave me to study in close contact those peculiarities of traditional Indian thoughts, belief, and conduct which separate Hindu civilization so deeply both from the West and the East, and which no amount of book knowledge could ever fully reveal to a '*Mleccha*'. Pandit Govind Kaul's personality seemed to embody in a particularly clear fashion some of the most characteristic and puzzling features which constitute the inherited mentality of India, traceable through all changes of the ages. Attached with unquestioning faith to the principles and practices of his Brahman caste, he would make no concessions whatsoever in his own person to altered conditions of life. Yet he was ever ready to explain to me how the slow adaptation in others was reconcilable with traditional tenets. His meticulous observance of religious rites shrank from no



personal hardship or sacrifice; he would, e.g., keep the fast days enjoined by the three different systems of worship traditional in his family, even when the chance of the calendar would bring them together in most embarrassing succession. Yet, in the privacy of my study or in the solitude of my mountain camp he was fully prepared to brush aside in my case most of the outward restrictions to which the *profanum vulgus* might attach importance.

His strongly conservative notions were the clearest reflex of those which have governed the administration of Kashmir throughout its historical past. Their instinctive application by Pandit Govind Kaul to the modern conditions of his country helped me greatly in comprehending how limited in reality were the changes undergone by its social fabric in the course of long centuries, notwithstanding all foreign conquests from the north and south. In his unfailing grave politeness and courtly dignity I could recognize, as it were, the patina which generations of influential employment and social distinction have deposited on the best representatives of the true ruling class of Kashmir. Whenever Pandit Govind Kaul was by my side, whether in the alpine peace of my beloved Kashmir mountains or in the dusty toil of our Lahore exile, I always felt in living touch with past ages full of interest for the historical student of India.

A kindly *fate* had allowed me, notwithstanding constant struggle for leisure, to carry my labours on the oldest historical records of Kashmir close to their completion by the time when in the spring of 1899 my appointment to the charge of the Calcutta Madresa and the far more encouraging prospect of freedom for my first Central Asian journey necessitated what seemed merely a temporary change in our personal association. In view of the new field of work which was soon to call me to the 'Sea of Sand' and its ruins far away in the north, I felt anxious to assure to Pandit Govind Kaul scholarly employment in his



own home, worthy of his learning and likely to benefit research. By what appeared at the time a special piece of good fortune, my friend Sir George Grierson was then anxious to avail himself of Pandit Govind Kaul's methodical help for completing and editing Pandit Isvara Kaul's great dictionary of Kashmiri. It was a philological task of considerable importance, and for more than one reason I rejoiced when, before my departure from Lahore, this collaboration of the best Kashmirian scholar of his time with the leading authority in the field of Indian linguistic research had been satisfactorily arranged for.

But *fate*, with that inscrutable irony on which Pandit Govind Kaul, like another Kalhana, loved to expatiate with appropriate poetic quotations, had decreed otherwise. The farewell I took at Lahore from my ever devoted helpmate was destined to be the last. From a rapid visit to Simla to see Sir George Grierson he brought back an attack of fever of which, after his return to Kashmir, proved to be of serious type and ultimately was recognized as typhoid. For weeks his strong constitution held out, supported by the loving care of his family and such proper medical attendance as I endeavoured to assure from afar. But in the end he succumbed, and separated by thousands of miles at the time in the strange mountains of Sikkim, I learned early in June 1899, the grievous news that my best Indian friend had departed beyond all hope of reunion in this *janman*.

Pandit Govind Kaul left behind a widow, who, after years of pious devotion to his memory, has since followed him, and a young son, Pandit Nilakanth Kaul, who while prevented by indifferent health in early youth from following a scholar's career, has grown up worthily to maintain the family's reputation for high character and unswerving devotion to duty.

The prolonged stays I was subsequently able to make in Kashmir before and after my successive Central Asian



श्रीमहावैष्णव विरोधणि श्रीनित्यानन्दशास्त्रिवरम्  
सादरस्मृतिवाटपुरःसरः प्रेष्यते ॥  
श्रीतमित्रीदार्ढ्यस्य जगन्नाथः ॥  
१९२३/९/२३ ॥

IN MEMORIAM  
PANDIT GOVIND KAUL

1846-1899

BY

AUREL STEIN



expeditions had to be spent on work relating to regions far away, and wholly different in character, from what I have come to look upon as my Indian alpine home. But my love for Kashmir has remained unchanged, and so also my gratitude for the great boon it had given me in Pandit Govind Kaul's friendship and help. That I was enabled to prefix a record of his life to this volume and thus to do something to preserve his memory, is a privilege I appreciate greatly."

Imperialism, an aspect of Western civilisation, was deeply embedded in the status quo of Stein's personality. Its style was part of his own experience. As, when young, Stein had enjoyed consideration and care from '*patrons*', so did he as '*sahib*' give in turn the same care and consideration to his Kashmiri follower, the truthful Pandit Govind Kaul as a witness of his friendship and high regard.

Spring came and passed and summer was ending. Stein had completed *Serindia* while still on the Marg. He wrote the last line of its text on September 2, 1918. The same evening he lit his big bonfire to announce the event to all his friends 20 miles and 6000 feet below and to the mountains. No, there was the faithful Nilakanth also. He reminded Stein, that as a boy he had seen the bonfire Stein had lit some 22 years ago in the company of his father Govind Kaul after the completion of translation of *Rajatarangini*. The occasion of the eventful evening must have certainly made Stein to remember his best Indian friend but more certainly his feelings must have left him heavier in heart. Alas! there was no longer Govind Kaul by his side on September 2, 1918.

In the story of international and inter-religious relationship there is no other striking instance of collaborations than Kashmiri folk stories, Hatim's Tales. A Hungarian, an Irishman and Englishman and two Kashmiris, a Jew, two Christians, a Muslim and a Hindu. These were Aurel Stein, George Grierson, Govind Kaul,



Hatim Tilawon and William Crooke. It speaks all.

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## Lallavakyani

Lalla, the prophetess from Kashmir, is commonly called in her own native land as Lal Ded. Though much legend has clustered round the name of Lalla, little is really known about her. However it is affirmed that she certainly existed and that she lived in 14th century. Her own sayings or words of Lalla have great importance in the history of Hinduism in Kashmir, as she was evidently the mouthpiece of the ideas of many thinkers of her time. Her sayings show that Lalla was a *yogini*, an ardent professor of the *yoga* discipline attached to *Saiva* branch of the religion of Hindus.

There are few countries in which so many wise saws and proverbial sayings are current as in Kashmir. Knowles, in his Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs collected some sixteen hundred in 1885 assisted by Pandit Anand Kaul. Yet none of these proverbs have greater repute than the sayings of Lalla. There is not a Kashmiri who has not some of them ready on the tip of his tongue and who does not reverence her memory. In the words of Pandit Anand Kaul "the *Lal Wakhi* or the sayings of Lal apart from being the utterances of a holy woman expressive of grand and lofty thoughts and spiritual laws are short, apt, sweet, thrilling, life giving and pregnant with greatest moral principles are the veritable pearls and diamonds and gems of the purest ray serene of the Kashmiri literature. They are current coins of quotations, a volume being packed in a single saying. They touch the Kashmiri's ear as well as the chords of his heart and are freely quoted by him as maxims on appropriate occasion in conversation having moulded the national mind and set up a national ideal".

There were no authentic manuscripts of the Lalla's



composition. Collections made by private individuals were occasionally put together but none was complete and no two agreed in the contents or text. There were countless sayings of Lal Ded, but as time went on they were gradually one by one forgotten and lost. However, about 260 years back i.e. around 1740, Pandit Bhaskar Razdan, grandfather of Pandit Manas Razdan, a celebrated hermit of Kashmir, collected sixty sayings which he translated into Sanskrit. Later about 165 years ago i.e. some time about 1835, there lived a saint in Hangalgund, Kashmir and he introduced some *vakhs* of Lalla attributed by him to the spiritual influence of Lalla herself. Of the later versions, 125 years earlier i.e. about 1875, a learned Pandit named Prakash Kukilu wrote a commentary on some sayings of Lalla. Another collection of 107 sayings including 60 collected by Pandit Bhaskar Razdan was made by Pandit Lakshman Kak, another saint who lived about in 1880. He wrote a commentary on *Vedantic* lines on them in Sanskrit prose. A copy of this collection was obtained by George Grierson and Lionel D. Barnett in 1911 for use in their English translation of *vakhs*.

As there was a want of authentic and complete manuscript of Lalla's sayings, the need was compensated, to quote Grierson's own words, "The ancient Indian system by which literature is recorded not on paper but on the memory and carried down to generation to generation of teachers and pupils is still complete in Kashmir. Such fleshy tablets of the heart are often most trustworthy than birch bark or paper manuscripts. The reciters even when learned Pandits take care to deliver the messages word for word as they received them whether they understand them or not".

A typical instance of such belief occurred in the experience of George Grierson. In the autumn of 1896, Aurel Stein took down in writing from the mouth of a professional storyteller Hatim, a collection of Kashmiri folk tales which were subsequently made over to Grierson in 1910 for



editing and translation. In the course of dictation, the narrator according to custom conscientiously reproduced words of which he did not know the sense. They were old words, the significance of which had been lost and which had been passed down to him through generations of *Ustads* or teachers. They were no inventions of the moment or corruption of the speaker is shown by the fact that they not only were recorded simultaneously by Pandit Govind Kaul but he also did not understand the meanings of certain words as narrated by Hatim, but yet he too accepted them without hesitation on the authority of the reciter.

Long afterwards in 1912, Grierson requested Stein to get the reciter repeat some passages of the folk stories and for clarification and filling of left out lacunae caused by slip in dictations and in parts due to loss of some portion of manuscript which Govind Kaul had made. Astoundingly Hatim repeated the words even after sixteen years, "*verbatim litratim et punctatum*" from the repertoire of his amazing memory.

It was in similar circumstances in the year 1914 that George Grierson asked his friend and assistant, Mahamahopadhyaya Mukandram Shastri, to obtain for him a good copy of the *Lallavakyani* as these verses were commonly called by the Pandits. After much search Mukandram Shastri was unable to find a satisfactory manuscript. But finally he came in touch with a very old Brahmin named Dharma Dasa Darvesh of the village Guch about thirty miles from Baramulla and not far from famous shrine of *Sharada*. Just as the professional storyteller, Hatim mentioned above recited folk tales, so made Dharma Dasa Darvesh his business for the benefit of piously disposed to recite Lalla's songs as he had received them by family tradition – *kulaparamparachara kramma*. Pandit Mukandram Shastri recorded the text from dictation of Dharma Dasa Darvesh and added a commentary partly in Hindi and partly in Sanskrit. All of this was forwarded to George



ॐ श्रीगुरुवे नमः ॐ नमो देवमीगल  
 मंभुवेमं भद्रादिस्त्रीगुर्वेः पादु  
 कंय नल्लदेवीप्रेदिं वक्तुणं  
 भद्रं भद्रं भद्रं भद्रं ॥ ॐ नमो  
 हरेभक्तिभक्तभा नया उषे ग  
 गनभा भगवत् भिन्नेभक्ति  
 कृता गनेः भक्तभया भुते यत्नः  
 उपदेसा ह्येया ८८ ॥ ॐ नमो  
 गंभीरेभक्तिभक्तिभक्तिभक्ति  
 भुपमिष्टं भक्तिभक्तिभक्तिभक्ति ०



Grierson by Pandit Mukandram. It were these materials which have formed the most reliable collation of Lalla's sayings.

As in the case of Aurel Stein's folk tales, Mukandram's collection also contained words and passages which Dharma Dasa did not profess to understand. Dharma Dasa Darvesh had every inducement to make verses intelligible and any conjectural emendation would at once have been accepted on his authority. But following the tradition of his calling Dharma Dasa had the honesty to refrain from this and said simply that this was what he had received and that he did not know its meaning. Such record of *vakhs* taken by Pandit Mukandram was more valuable than any written manuscript. Nevertheless in producing the text, George Grierson collected some other manuscripts also. The two manuscripts belonging to Aurel Stein that were housed in the Indian Institute, Oxford were also consulted by Grierson. One contained 49 of the sayings and the other was Sanskrit text of Bhaskar Razdan's collection of 60 sayings.

The *Lallavakyani* were composed in old form of Kashmiri which as a distinct language was much older than Lalla's sayings. As the Kashmiri language changed insensibly from generation to generation, so must have the outward form of these verses have changed in recitation. But nevertheless respect for Lal Ded and material form of her songs have preserved, a great many forms of her archaic expression. It is worthwhile mentioning that the *Vedic* hymns were for centuries handed down by word of mouth and that Lalla's sayings give a valuable example of the manner in which language must have changed from generation to generation before the text was finally established.

In the ancient times, the religious system based on *Saivayoga* was the object of much study amongst the learned men of Kashmir. From this remote corner of north India, their teaching influenced the whole peninsula so much so



that Ramanuja, the leader of the rival *Vaisnava* cult, felt compelled to travel from distant Madras to Kashmir.

The subject of Kashmiri prosody was never investigated and hardly anything was known about it till the collection of text of *Lalvakhs* was made by Pandit Mukandram. In Kashmir two distinct metrical systems are known and cultivated. The first is that used for formal works such as epic poems and the like. Here the Persian metres with many irregularities and licences are employed. For instance, a great portion of Krishna Razdan's *Sivaparinaya* is in well-known Persain *Hizaz* metre and so is the narrative portion of *Sri Ramavataracarita* of Prakash Kurigami. The other metrical system is used in songs and is by no means a simple matter.

According to Grierson, "I regret that during my own stay in Kashmir I neglected to study it and when after my return to England I endeavoured to ascertain from native sources of Kashmir, as to what rules were followed in such compositions, I failed to obtain any definite information". All that Grierson could gather was that the poet scanned his verse on the ear. A long and minute examination of scores of songs led Grierson to no certain conclusion beyond the fact that stress accent seemed to play an important part. Here and there he came across traces of well-known metres but nowhere did they extend over more than a few lines at a time.

This unresolved issue of *vakhs* on Lalla's metres was referred by Grierson to Aurel Stein seeking his help to establish it. As Grierson had put the problem before Stein, it was on latter's suggestion that Grierson put the hint of seeking such help from Pandit Nityanand in a letter that he addressed to him. Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, April 20, 1917. "A long time ago you very kindly offered me your help in my researches into Kashmiri language for which I was very grateful. Up to the present time I have not had an opportunity of asking for your help but some



time I may write and ask you for it. A short time ago I was talking to Sir Aurel Stein about you and he suggested that you would be glad to have a copy of my edition of Isvara Kaul's *Kashmirishabdamrita* and so I sent it to you today by parcel post and hope that you will accept it. I shall be glad to hear of its safe arrival".

Nityanand quickly replied this letter from Grierson. June 16, 1917. Srinagar. "I am in receipt of your kind letter of the 20th April, 1917, informing me that you have very kindly sent me a copy of your edition of *Kashmirishabdamrita* for which I thank you very much. I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly remember me from time to time. I am doing well and hope that this will find you in sound health. Further I may mention that I have today received your parcel consisting of the copy of above referred in two parts in a safe condition. Kindly convey my compliments to Dr. Sir Aurel Stein and oblige."

In the year 1917 itself, Aurel Stein too had an occasion to visit Kashmir. According to Grierson, "Stein with his ever inexhaustible kindness undertook to investigate the question". Stein referred the matter to Pandit Nityanand. "With the help of a *Sravaka*, a professional reciter, Nityanand ascertained definitely that in the songs, the metre depended solely on stress accent and in Lalla's verses, four stresses go to each *pada* or line."

The results of labour on establishing the metres of *Lalvakhs* were passed on by Nityanand to Stein. Acknowledging the same, Grierson wrote to Nityanand. March 19, 1918, Camberley, Surrey. "I am writing to thank you for the trouble you have been so kind to take in putting the *swarit* marks on the songs which have been sent to me by Sir Aurel Stein. They will be a great help to me. The metre is not like that of Hindi. In Hindi we usually find *matrachand* which is quite different. I am much interested to hear that you have collected a number of Kashmiri songs and hope that you will be able to print these sometime or





*Sir Richard Carnac Temple; b. 1850 d. 1931.*



the other. I am at present very busy with other work or I should ask you to be kind enough to send me the copies of them. I could not study them now. I am sending you herewith for your acceptance two volumes of a little book which I have written about Kashmiri which will I hope interest you and I shall be glad to hear that you have received them safely".

It was in 1920 that the Royal Asiatic Society published as one of its monographs, volume XVII, the *Lallavakyani*. It was edited with translations and notes on vocabulary by George Grierson and Lionel D. Barnett. It was a work of great scholarship, each of the editors taking his share with consummate mastery of a very difficult subject, Grierson as to the linguistic and Barnett to the philosophic phase of it. However, the historical facts reveal that respective share of this work also belonged to Kashmiri scholars, Mukandram and Nityanand and it must be considered that both the English and Kashmiri scholars discussed between them what was finally written about Lalla's sayings before they finally reached the world of the learned.

Following this publication in 1920, it stimulated Sir Richard C. Temple and invited his attention to *vakhs* as a work of unique contributions to the body of evidence that necessarily formed the basis of a future history of one of the most important religions of India – *Saivism* of which very little was known to the West. By Sir Richard Carnac Temple's own admission "I soon found it impossible to translate Lalla's actual quatrains into English verse and it became thus necessary to render her meaning rather than her verse into English as nearly possible in her manner". Temple's work appeared in 1924 as 'The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess' and was published by Cambridge University Press.

Later in 1931, Pandit Anand Kaul edited 'Sayings of Lalleshwari' reprinted from Indian Antiquary, Volume LX, 1931 and also wrote the most authentic life sketch of Lalla



Yogeshwari. Perhaps one cannot fail to acknowledge the debt of gratitude to George Grierson, Lionel Barnett, Mukandram, Nityanand, Mirza Kak, Bhaskar Razdan, Lakshman Kak, Prakash Kukilu and Anand Kaul who took all pain to dig out the *vakhs* of Lalla Ded and to purify them of the dross that had collected around them over the centuries.

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## Mahabharata Manuscripts in Prague

Maurice Winternitz, Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German University, Prague, Czechoslovakia was born in Horn, in lower Austria in the family of a merchant named Bernhard Winternitz on 23rd December 1863. After the completion of the studies at his native town Wien, he entered the University of Vienna in 1880 for higher studies in classical philology and philosophy. Influenced by Georg Buhler and Eugen Hultsch he took up the study of Indology. In 1885 he was awarded doctorate for his thesis on "*Ancient Indian Marriage Ritual according to Apastamba compared with Marriage Custom of the Indo-European peoples*". Later he worked as a teacher in Oxford High School for Girls, as a lecturer of German and Sanskrit.

In 1888, he went over to Oxford as an amanuensis of Professor Max Mueller where he stayed for sixteen years during which period he worked for the preparation of second edition of *Rigveda*. During this period he began the task of cataloguing the *Vedic* manuscripts in Bodelian Library and the Whish collection of South Indian manuscripts at Royal Asiatic Society, London, besides working on a general index to forty nine volumes of sacred Books of East series. For some time he was on the Examinations Board of the Indian Civil Service. In 1895 he became Librarian of the Indian Institute Oxford. In 1899, he was appointed Lecturer of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the University of Prague and in 1911 to the Chair. In 1904, he established a special library of Indology. The veritable scholar died on 9th January 1937. On his lamented death Rabindranath Tagore observed, "The news of the sudden passing away of Dr. Maurice Winternitz were most painful for us, who were used to looking upon him



as one of the truest and most respected friends of India in the outer world. During my long life and extensive travels, I never met a *savant* more worthy of respect than the learned Doctor. His deep and broad humanity, brightened as it was with his amazingly wide scholarship, his devotion to Truth and the courage with which he held fast to his idealism in the midst of a growing hostile atmosphere in Central Europe, are his claims to our homage. In him, I have lost a faithful comrade, India has lost one of its truest Pandits and best friends and humanity one of its most sincere champions."

Winternitz came to India in 1922, at the invitation of Rabrindranath Tagore. During his sojourn to India he visited Kashmir also. Soon after his arrival in Srinagar, Winternitz rushed straight to Manigam, Ganderbal, where Stein was camped. Winternitz apprised Stein of his intended work, to bring out a standard edition of the great epic of India the *Mahabharata*. He took no time to place his request to Nityanand Shastri in procuring *Mahabharata* manuscripts available in Kashmir.

May 29, 1923. Winternitz wrote to Nityanand Shastri. "After staying here with my friend Sir Aurel Stein I shall return to Ganderbal, and remain there for about one week. About June 10th, I hope to be back in Srinagar and should be extremely thankful to you if you could get some *Mahabharata* manuscripts for me by that time. Any manuscript you could place at my disposal will be used for the standard edition of the great national epic of India and you would do a great service to Sanskrit scholarship by procuring any *Mahabharata* manuscripts for this edition, a service which will also be duly acknowledged when the edition will be published at Poona".

June 7, 1923. Stein wrote to Nityanand. "A great scholar of all scholars. This Sir Aurel Stein informs Sri Nityanand Shastri. I was very glad to know from my dear friend Winternitz that you have consented to assist in the search



of books of the *Mahabharata*. I do hope strongly that by the grace of *Sri Sharada* your help in that regard will be complete. That great scholar is coming to *Sri Pravaraपुरा* in two or three days. Then I may be more grateful in connection with the collection and explanation of books after obtaining instruction from your lotus like hands. That is all. May *Sri Saraswati* protect and nourish you always".

Staying in a house boat, 387, Ganderbal, Winternitz also sent a confirmatory letter on the same day. He wrote to Nityanand. "I shall leave Ganderbal on Saturday and arrive at Srinagar on Sunday. I shall be glad to see you on Monday and should be very thankful if you could tell me that you have succeeded in finding *Mahabharata* manuscripts".

Assured of the help he had sought from Nityanand Shastri, Winternitz left for Shantiniketan. The two remained in constant touch on the matter of progress of work.

In a letter dated 29th July 1923, Winternitz wrote yet again to Nityanand, "Many thanks for your kind letter of 23rd instant. I have in the meanwhile heard from my University that money will be available for acquiring any *Mahabharata* and other old manuscripts from Kashmir. I have not yet received money but hope to get in a week or two. As soon as I get it I shall send the money and ask you to be kind enough to send me the two *Mahabharata* and *Dharmashastra* manuscripts. If you can get any other old *Mahabharata* manuscripts I should be very thankful to you and you would be rendering a great service to the great cause of the *Mahabharata* edition. With kind regards and best wishes",

Another letter followed on August 18, 1923. "I shall feel greatly obliged to you if you will now kindly buy for me the manuscripts you were good enough to procure for me when I was at Srinagar. viz. A complete *Mahabharata* with Nilakantha's commentary, manuscript of *Dharmashastra*, *Manu-Nirnayanurita*, *Apararka*, manuscript of *Shanti* and *Anushashan Parvas* with Nilakantha's commentary and those



sundry modern *Vedanta* manuscripts which I rejected when you bought the manuscripts.

Sir Aurel Stein has promised to advise you as to the best way of packing the manuscripts safely. As I shall leave Shantiniketan in the middle of September for Bombay and parcel post always takes some time. Please address the parcel of manuscripts as follows:

Prof. M. Winternitz

C/o Consulate of Czechoslovakia Republic,

56-58, Walkeshavar Road,

Malabar Hill, Bombay.

I hope it will be possible for you to procure for me some more old manuscripts of the kind of two fragments you discovered first.

Also for any other old Sanskrit manuscripts, I shall be thankful. I am sorry to give you much trouble. But I trust you will feel rewarded for your endeavour by the great service you are rendering to the great cause of *Mahabharata* and Sanskrit scholarship. Letters will reach me in Shantiniketan upto September 15th and afterwards at the above address". Still at Shantiniketan. September 10, 1923. Winternitz sent yet another letter to Nityanand, "I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter of August 31, and all the trouble you have taken. I shall let you know as soon as I am in Bombay of the safe arrival of the manuscripts and am very grateful to you for all your efforts you are making and promise to make with regard to *Mahabharata* and other old manuscripts".

Progress and development in the matter of *Mahabharata* edition was kept well informed to Stein by Winternitz and throughout this Stein and Nityanand also exchanged letters of mutual interest between them. In a letter, Stein wrote to Nityanand, "May Sri Nityanand Shastri who is the worthy recipient of the grace of *Sri Sharada* embellished by the host of scholars accept this request of Sir Aurel Stein combined with the garland of *Svasti* words of humbleness.





*Professor Maurice Winternitz; b. 1863 d. 1937.*



I was very glad to receive a letter from you. I desire your pleasant arrival soon. I got from Shantiniketan the news of Winternitz's return. This gentleman gratefully remembers and will remember your successful help. By the grace of *Sri Sharada* the work here is progressing with good pace. It is all. *Sri Devi* may protect you by all means".

The task was achieved. As desired the manuscripts were sent. Winternitz left India in the beginning of 1924 after his stint as visiting Professor at Shantiniketan, Visvabharti University. Back home, Winternitz wrote to Nityanand on April 6, 1924.

8, Opatovika, Prague. "It will interest you to learn that the manuscripts you were good enough to procure for me have safely come to Prague and have got a place of honour in our University Library. On my voyage home, I fell seriously ill with tropical malaria and it took many weeks before I recovered, that is the reason why I have not written to you sooner. Now I should be very much obliged to you if you could get some more manuscripts for me especially of the *Mahabharata*, but also *Puranas*, *Kavyas*, *Nataka*, *Dharmasastra* and other *Sastras*. I wonder if you have found any more old *Mahabharata* manuscripts or fragments of such. I hope you have received the two papers I sent you sometime ago and trust that you are keeping well".

Still at Prague, Winternitz desired collection of more Kashmir manuscripts for his University Library while he himself was revising his English translation of Indian Literature. September 8, 1924, "Many thanks for your kind letter of 5th August and welcome news that you have got hold of some more manuscripts. Our Library will be very thankful to have the manuscripts of *Kavyaprakasa* and the fragments of *Shisupalvadha*, *Kumarasambhava* and *Vasavadatta*. Please send the manuscripts to the address.

The Consulate of Czechoslovakia Republic,  
28, Rampart Row,  
Fort, Bombay.



"The Consulate will forward them to Prague. I have had a letter from our friend Sir Aurel Stein who is now in England. I am very busy now revising my 'History of Indian Literature' for the English translation, which is being printed in Calcutta. I hope the first volume will be published in early part of 1925 and I shall advise the University of Calcutta to send you a copy as soon as it is out. Hoping you are keeping quite well". Nityanand Shastri sent the manuscripts that Winternitz had requested for. They arrived in Prague. December 23, 1924, wrote Winternitz to Nityanand. "Many thanks for your kind letter of November 5th and the trouble you have taken in getting the manuscripts for us. The manuscripts have now safely arrived at Prague and I am very glad that we have got them at the Library. Sir Aurel Stein is busy with his work at Oxford now as I have heard from him. I often remember the beautiful country and I am happy to have made your acquaintance at Srinagar. How is Pandit R.C. Kak? If you see him please, remember me to him. Hoping that, you are keeping good health." During the time which elapsed before the final publication came out, death had made deep gaps in the ranks of scholars whose studies and help had provided some of the basic materials that went into the making of History of Indian Literature. Henrieck Kern, the patriarch among Budha researchers. Ernest Windisch, the most valuable researcher of Buddhist Literature, Paul Duessen, the pioneer of ancient Indian Philosophy and Herman Oldenburg who had profound knowledge of Vedic Literature and religion had passed away in rapid succession. Winternitz dedicated the work to his old friend Leopold Von Schroeder who too had more than 30 years ago undertaken to write a history of Indian literature and culture. The dedicatory words in the work were also a record of Winternitz's admiration for his beloved friends who were no longer among the living. Paying tribute to them, Winternitz wrote, "The memory of these men will



[illegible]



not fade in the history of our science. *Nahi karma ksiyate* – for deeds are not lost.”

Admiring the effort of living scholars he wrote, “In the field of Indian philology and in the research of Indian literature too, Germans have been the leader and pioneers. Much as we are indebted to the English who as rulers of India took up the study of Indian languages and literature as a result of practical needs, much as, some prominent French, Italian, Dutch, Danish, American, Russian, and which should not be forgotten, native Indian scholars, have done for the investigation of Indian literature and culture. The Germans have undoubtedly taken lion’s share in publishing critical editions of text explaining and investigating them and in compiling dictionaries and grammars. A brief survey of the history of indological studies will show us this”.

The work dedicated to the oldest period of Indian literature was intended not for learned circles but for the educated people. With this idea in mind, Winternitz had kept in constant view, in the course of his work, the reader who as yet knew nothing of the Indian literature and possessed no special indological knowledge of any kind and yet not that reader who merely desired a desultory acquaintance with Indian literature in leisure hour, but him who wanted to make himself thoroughly acquainted with it without the knowledge of any Indian language.

Not a single one of the numerous and extensive works referred in his compendium which belonged to *Vedas*, national epics or to the *Puranas* could be ascribed with certainty to this or that century.

According to Winternitz, “It was simply impossible in one sentence or in few lines to give information on the age of *Vedas*, of the *Mahabharata*, of the *Ramayana* and even of the *Puranas*. A considerable effort had to be devoted to the inquiry concerning their age. If notwithstanding they contain something new and also some points which might



challenge contradiction then it is because that the questions dealt with, have been the subject of new investigation and new discoveries". This was the work in which a Kashmiri had played his role and remarkable literary materials of indigenous hands were used.

It took Winternitz twenty-three years to complete the work. He had intended the work to be completed in one volume, in about three to four years. But the more he dived deep into the subject the mass of available materials heaped up the more and this increased the difficulties of sifting them. The work in the end appeared in three volumes with parts coming out at various intervals, in 1904-1908, 1913, 1920, 1922, 1926 and 1927. It was a colossal work whose volume and content itself made it a gigantic contribution to indological study. The subject, however, could not be handled with perfection. According to Winternitz, "Now after the work is concluded, nobody can be aware of its shortcomings and imperfections more than myself. But in case I had wished to let it go into the world, these faults were mended, I would have to wait still for not less than twenty years. Yet may the collaboration of Indian and European scholars continue".

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13. Letter dated April 6, 1924, Prague by Prof. Maurice Winternitz to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
14. Letter dated September 8, 1924, Prague by Prof. Maurice Winternitz to Pandit Nityanand Shastri.
15. Letter dated December 23, 1924, Prague by Prof. Maurice Winternitz to Professor Nityanand Shastri.



## Alongside the Icons

In the summer of 1901, Vogel visited the Kulu valley. It brought him face to face with people who still paid reverence to serpent demons whose account was known in the earliest accounts of literature. These peculiar practices of worship of serpent demons attracted Vogel's attention to collect the legends relating to *Nagas*, which were found in the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature in India. The three chief repositories of serpent lore, the *Mahabharata*, the *Jataka* book and the *Rajatarangini* were fully utilized by him. It had convinced Vogel that almost complete account of *Nagās* was available in these works and doubted if any gain to such literature could be traced to any other source. The very fact other nations had known or still practised this form of worship and yet it was difficult to quote another instance in which it took such a prominent place in literature, folklore and art as it did in India, fascinated Vogel to make a descriptive study on the subject.

In the course of his subsequent wanderings in Western Himalayas the subject was constantly studied by him. In doing so, it was Vogel's endeavour to retain something of the exotic flavour of these Eastern tales. As much of the supply of details connected with the subject was enumerated in *Rajatarangini* and *Nilamatapurana*, he richly utilized Stein's text of *Rajatarangini* and Lahore edition of *Nilamatapurana*. As his study progressed many difficulties were confronted by him in the texts of these important Kashmiri treatises. The meaning, interpretation and historical relevance of these texts needed accurate translation and philological accuracy. It was thus left to securing a considerable help.

As both *Nilamatapurana* and *Rajatarangini* possessed a



special interest in connection with his subject, Vogel utilized the opportunity to go through the first edited version of *Nilamatapurana* that was published in 1924, and popularly known as 'Lahore edition'. It was edited by two Kashmiri scholars, Pandit J.D. Zadoo and Pandit R.L. Kanjilal. Like the *Mahabharata*, the *Nilamata* contained extensive catalogue of *Nagas*. Although it only professed to give the names of principal *Nagas* worshipped in Kashmir, it surpassed in length all lists known from Sanskrit literature. It comprehends no less than 527 names of *Nagas*, thirty of which occur twice and two thrice, which probably meant that *Nagas* in question were worshipped in two or three different localities. Vogel consequently arrived at a number of 561. According to Vogel, "the text and the appendix were not free from errors."

The well-known *Elapattra* figured in both as *Ailaputra* and *Sankhapala* as *Samvarapala* in the appendix. The *Nilamata* also referred to a festival of the *Dikpala*'s but it was not clear, which *Dikpala* were meant. Confronted with such difficulties in *Nilamatapurana* while trying to understand the subject of serpent worship in Kashmiri legend, Vogel in 1924, placed the matter before the Kashmiri authority on the subject.

In a letter Vogel wrote to Nityanand, "Offering salutations to Sri Nityanand Shastri who has mastered over all *sastras*, who has a mind adorned by all good qualities, who is the crest jewel of all Kashmiri scholars and who stands true to his name – Dr. Vogel of Holland sends this letter. There has been no letter from you for a long time. I hope you are well both mentally and physically. Last month I read a book called *Nilamatapurana* edited by two Kashmiri scholars and published in *Lavapura*. I have doubts in three matters, which you deserve to break with the weapon of your *Shastric* knowledge. There is the description of the worship of *Iramanjari* in verse bearing numbers from 790 to 803 in *Nilamatapurana*. Now I would like to ask, is



the worship of *Iramanjari* being performed in Kashmir today. How is the *Irapuspa* (*Ira* flower) called in Kashmiri, Hindi and English languages. In *Nilamatapurana*, there are names of four Kashmiri kings in verse 116-118. Where are these, *Bindusara*, *Srimadaka*, *Uttaramanasa* and *Ailapattra*? To which place do they belong? What are the present names of these great kings? In the same *Purana*, there is mentioning of a mountain known as *Dhanda* in verse 897. Where is that mountain at present? What is the present name of that? I would be blessed very much if you wish to reply my letters out of your good nature. You have been regarded as my teacher and friend also. What more! Let the lord bestow upon you all types of good, being pleased."

Replying the query on the subject of the water spirits of the happy valley Nityanand clarified the matter to Vogel.

"After enumerating the principal *Naga*, the sage Brihadasva acquaints us with the names of four guardians of the Quarters, *Dikpalas* of Kashmir. They are the following: - *Bindusara* in the East, *Srimadaka* in the North, *Elapattra* in the West, the *Uttaramanasa* in the North. The last mentioned name occurs also in *Rajatarangini* to designate the sacred *Ganga Lake* situated below the eastern glaciers of *Mount Haramukh* and popularly known as *Gangabal*. In all probability the three remaining names too were associated with certain localities in the mountains around Kashmir valley. Anyhow the *Dikpalas* in question are evidently *Nagas*. This is a point of some interest in connection with the ancient notion of four dragons presiding over the regions of the horizon. Here also the *Elapattra*, the ancient serpent King *Airavata* belong to the group. In his subterraneous place, the serpent king dwells in his royal pomp. It was here that Brahman, Chandra Deva sojourned during the six months of cold season and was initiated by his host into the sacred rites to be observed by those that dwell in Kashmir. The abode of *Nila* under the mountain *Dhanda* is associated with rites observed on the *Varuna-panchami*.



Mount *Dhanda*, according to the gloss in the manuscript, is a mountain at Banihal. The festival in which *Nila* and the *Nagas* participate is celebrated in the month of *Chaitra*, when *Nikumbha* had gone out of the country. It is called *Iramanjari puja* and has the character of spring festival. *Ira*, so we are told, was an *apsara* or heavenly nymph. She was cursed by Indra and turned into a plant which grows in the Himalayas. On the occasion of her fete, the people accompanied by their wives and children and friends all in festive dresses and in merry mood go out to the *Ira* gardens and adorn themselves with flowers and give them to womenfolk. Offering of *Ira* flowers is also to be presented to gods *Vishnu*, *Rudra*, *Brahma* – the *Prajapati Indra*, the sun, the moon and the goddess *Durga*. But the *Nagas* too receive their share. The *Ira* is dear to the *Nagas*. It is by means of *Ira* flower that a wise man must worship the *Nagas*."

The work, '*The Serpent Lore – The Nagas in the Hindu Legend and Art*' was published in London in 1926. On completion of this great indological text, Vogel wrote, "My obligations for assistance rendered in various ways are numerous. For the supply of photographs which illustrate my book, I am much indebted to Sir John Marshall, KtCIE, M.A., Litt.D., Director General of Archaeology in India and to various officers of his department, to Sir Aurel Stein, KtCIE Ph.D., to Pandit Ramaprasada Chandra, M.A. Officer-in-Charge of the Archaeological Section, Imperial Museum, Calcutta, to the Curators of Provincial museums at Lahore and Lucknow, to late Mr. R. Narasimhachar, late Director of Archaeological Research, Mysore, to Mr. F.D.K. Bosch, Ph.D., Director of Archaeological Survey of Netherlands-India, to M. Louis Fenot, Director, de Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient Hanoi, to Mr. C. Stanley Clarke, Curator, Indian section, Victoria Albert Museum, South Kensington, to Mr. T.A. Joyce of the British Museum and to M. Delaporte, Conservator, Musce du Tro Cadereo, Paris.



Among the persons who helped me with textual information I wish to mention Mr. Denes Anderson, Ph.D., Professor of Pali in the University of Copenhagen, Rev T. Grahame Bailey, Ph.D., Mr. J.J. Duyvendak, Reader of Chinese in the University of Lyden, Rev A.H. Francke, Ph.D., Sir George Grierson, KtCIE, Ph.D., Litt.D., ICS (Retd.), Pandit Hirananda Shastri M.A. MOL, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mr. Sten Konow, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Kristiana, Pandit Nityanand, Srinagar, Kashmir, Babu Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, M.J. Przyluski, Professor, E. Cole des Langius, Orientalist, Paris, Mahamahopadhyaya M. Sanjiva Rao, Principal, Queen's College, Benaras, Mr. H.A. Rose, ICS (Retd.), Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth, ICS (Retd.) and Mr. Philippe Stern, Musee Guitmet, Paris.

Nityanand stood shoulder high alongside the icons of indology.

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## From Harvard to Yale

It was twenty-two years after the American indologist David Brainerd Spooner had come to Kashmir that another American Sanskritist visited Kashmir in 1927. He was Franklin Edgerton, a Professor of Sanskrit in the Yale University, United States of America. Franklin Edgerton was born on June 24, 1885. He was educated at the Cornell and Johns Hopkins Universities. At the latter place he did research work under Maurice Bloomfield. He died in USA on December 10, 1963. Edgerton came to India for spending a year and arrived in Srinagar in April, 1927. On his arrival in Srinagar, Edgerton got in touch with Sir Aurel Stein to seek his guidance for his Sanskrit pursuits in Kashmir. Edgerton was aware of Stein's deep knowledge about the Kashmiri scholarship and relied to be guided by his advice in the matter. Stein recommended Nityanand to Edgerton. As per the former's advice Edgerton took no time to make arrangements in the matter that had brought him to Kashmir.

Srinagar, April 11, 1927. Edgerton wrote to Nityanand. "I am an American Sanskritist (Professor of Sanskrit in Yale University) now spending a year in India. I have just arrived in Srinagar during which time I wish to read Sanskrit with a good competent Pandit preferably one who does not know very much English as I wish to practice speaking Sanskrit. Sir Aurel Stein has suggested that I apply to you for advice in the matter. Can you recommend a good Pandit to read some religious or philosophical texts? I have thought trying the *Isvarapratyabhijnasutra*. I should in any case be pleased to make your acquaintance. I am living in houseboat 259 the 'Arabelle' which is moored just at the side of Club in the small inlet (not the main river)



or I may be addressed by mail, care of, Post Master. I hope you will either try to see me or indicate the time and place at which I could call on you".

If it was Spooner's desire to seek the opportunities, pleading to Nityanand twenty two years earlier to implore the Maharaja of Kashmir to provide an assignment that would have enabled him to pursue his Sanskrit studies in Kashmir, it was now the Yale Sanskritist's desire to gain the insight into the Kashmiri *Saiva* thought. Edgerton had chosen his master and Stein was not in any doubt. The arrangement was made. In the course of this association the precepts of this Kashmiri thought gradually unsealed the eyes of the American. As the doctrine revealed to the discerning mind of Edgerton the mutual respect also developed by and by, forging Nityanand and Edgerton into a personal friendship too. In Edgerton's sojourn to the land of *Sharada*, his American mind had its first initiation to assimilate the spiritual depths of Kashmiri *Saiva* thought. Seven weeks of brief encounter with Nityanand had left its indelible mark on Edgerton's mind. His ignorance of the chosen subject of study was now far less than he had expected. The intense flight of *Saivism* had enabled Edgerton to fathom the depths of Kashmiri mind.

May 27, 1927. Srinagar. Edgerton wrote. "I have had the privilege of reading Sanskrit with Pandit Nityanand Shastri, Professor in Sri Pratap College, for nearly seven weeks. We have read the whole of *Parmathsara* of Abhinavagupta with Yogaraja's commentary and part of the *Isvarapratyabhijina* of Utpaladeva with Abhinavgupt's commentary. I have profited greatly by the profound learning and lucid intelligence which Pandit Nityanand has generously placed at my disposal during these readings. I was previously ignorant of the subject of *Kashmirian Saivism* and if I have acquired some knowledge of it now, I am sure that it is due in no small measure to his assistance. Especially the great technical difficulties of



*Isvarapratyabhijina* and its commentary have become vastly clearer to me owing to his learned help than they would have been otherwise. I have conceived a genuine and high respect and regard for Pandit Nityanand, both as scholar and as a man and shall remember with pleasure and gratitude, these weeks unhappily few, of association with him".

Edgerton's expressive lauding of Nityanand's erudition as 'profound learning and lucid intelligence' subsequently echoed out from Grierson's mind too when he commended his attainments by appreciating "his great resource of vast knowledge".

Ten years later Franklin Edgerton again visited India. This time it was at the invitation of Dr. Sukhtankar of the Bombay Oriental Research Institute, who requested him to make a revised edition of the second book of the *Mahabharata* – the *Sabha Parvan*, a work that had earlier been edited by Maurice Winternitz and published by Poona University Press, in 1927. Edgerton arrived in India in the summer of 1937. The winter-spring time of the years 1937-1938 were utilised by him to survey the Poona edition and some new *Mahabharata* manuscripts which had come into the possession of Dr. Sukhtankar and made available to Edgerton. This included a Kashmiri *Mahabharata* birch bark codex of 16th-17th century. This manuscript thus became a fresh source of material to improve and re-edit the book-II of *Mahabharata* the *Sabha Parvan*.

After a short return to America, Franklin Edgerton sailed to India again in June 1938. He spent three more months at Poona until the end of September 1938. He studied and examined the new manuscript alongwith Dr. Sukhtankar and thereafter returned to America in January 1939. After four years of intensive work, at the Mahabharata Department of the Yale University, on the fresh materials provided by the Kashmiri birch codex, Edgerton published the *Sabha Parvan* – the book-II of *Mahabharata* in 1943. The



edition was soon after also published from Bombay Oriental Research Institute in 1944. It is however regretted that Dr. Sukhtankar died on January 21, 1943.

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## Laurels and Recognition

In 1898 George Grierson began his monumental work on the linguistic survey and for the next thirty years he was responsible for gathering a vast amount of data in nearly eight thousand pages in nineteen volumes. Five of these volumes on Indo-European languages were prepared by Norwegian linguist, Sten Konow and remainder mostly by Grierson. The strand of Kashmiri language in the fabric of linguistic survey however had the deft handling and a masterly treatment given by many local Kashmiri scholars before the final results were published.

Soon after Stein arrived in Kashmir in 1888, Pandit Mukandram, a teacher of Sanskrit in Mission School, Srinagar was sent by him in matters related to *Rajatarangini* edition. Following their first meeting, Mukandram paid Stein many frequent visits during latter's stay in Srinagar. According to Stein, "Mukandram showed at these meetings a very respectable knowledge of the *Kavya* and *Alamkara Sastras* and much interest in questions touching the ancient history of Kashmir. He seems to me one of the most promising Pandits of Kashmir". It was a confirmation of Hultzsch's earlier admiration for Mukandram who had encountered him during April 1885 along with another Kashmiri scholar, Pandit Madhavchandra while pursuing their common endeavours on antiquities of Kashmir. Eugen Julius Theodor Hultzsch was born on March 29, 1857 in Dresden. He studied Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic in Leipzig and Bonn. In 1879 he was awarded a doctorate and after working for some time as a Librarian in London, Hultzsch qualified as a University Professor in Wien. Here Georg Buhler introduced him to the indigenous methods of scholarship in *Sastras*, epigraphy and



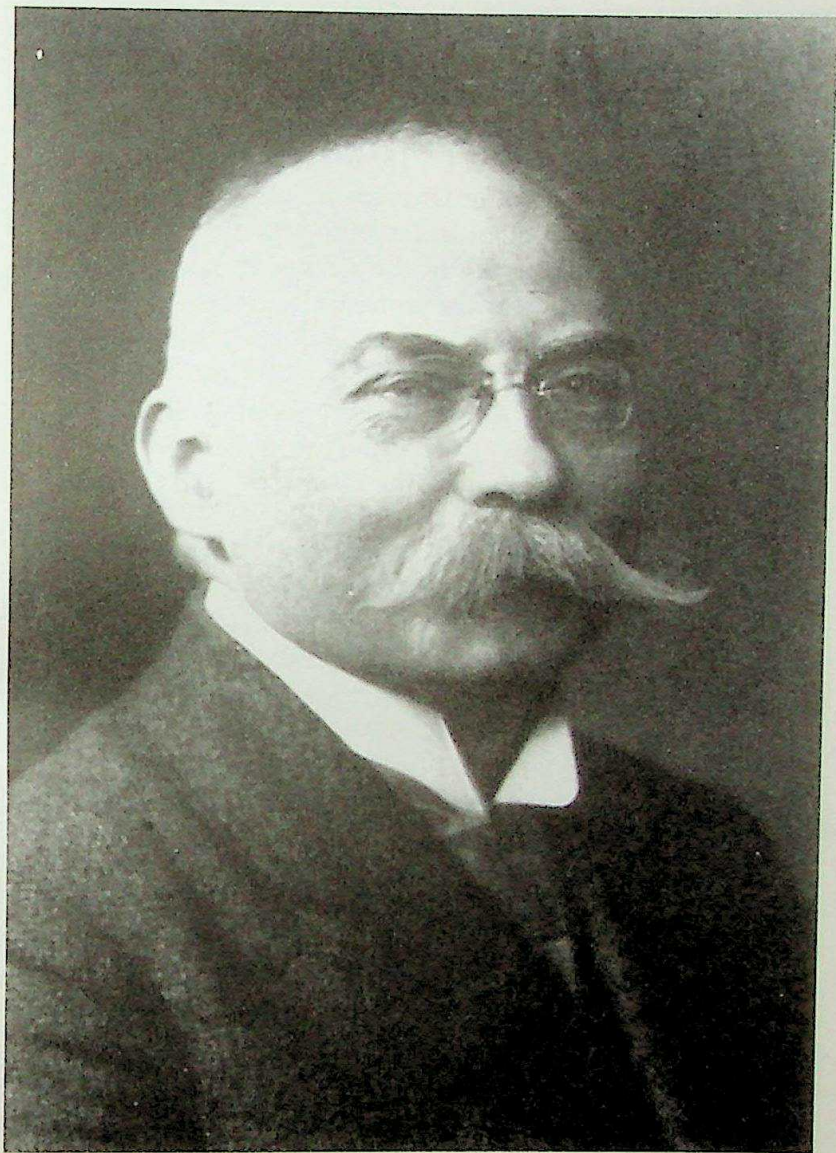
षुगणा भन-कुमवा भुंता घना रंगना डकना  
 कैमि-डि कैला उमिभा सिम्वा न । उमि ५३,  
 मीनिवा वानना कि भुनिभा भलिभा किना  
 ऊँडि नेकन सुमृवा भुडिना इधु मपनना ।  
 बुला कभा बुकि भुडिना भगना । बुला बुला  
 बुषिषा पननिभा भलिभा निम गक, उमिभा  
 वन, कि दे भलिना भु कंरु परलेऊऊ उ  
 भुत्रु विरुधू पाछा, बुला उषा वननभा येष्टा कभा  
 न, कि भुत्रु वमि व कभा बुला मीला भु पनटना  
 नेकरना मरु सुषाछा गलागवाउ । डिना वनि-  
 वा भला बुकवा उ पननिभा भलिभा निम गषवा ।  
 भलि यादा भला प्रिया यिवाना वकना लेल  
 भुंता प्रिषा नलभडि गटिषा उमिभा मीं मिम  
 ना । उव ५३ वंरु वमिषि उभा, कि दे भलिना



paleography. He devoted his attention for the rest of his life on these subjects. Hultzsch used his inheritance to travel to India in 1884-85. He brought manuscripts for the Vienna Oriental Library. In 1886 he returned to India as an Epigraphist to the Government of Madras. He was also examiner of Sanskrit and fellow of the University of Madras. He settled in Bangalore. He travelled in winter months taking rubbings from inscriptions on temple and rocks. He was assisted by three colleagues Venkaya, Krishna Shastri and Venkoba Rao. In 1903 Hultzsch returned to Germany and accepted professorship in Halle. He stayed there until his death on January 16, 1927. As a Government Epigraphist Hultzsch visited Kashmir in 1885, and with the help of Mukandram and Madhavchandra successfully collected materials and notes about the old history and geography of Kashmir. He was deeply impressed by Pandit Mukandram's help. Hultzsch wrote, "Mukandram's knowledge of Sanskrit seems to me very profound and he speaks that language with great fluency. In him also I hope to have found a true friend whom I shall never forget".

In the year 1902 Dr. A.W. Stratton who held the dual post of Registrar of Punjab University and Principal, Oriental College Lahore passed away rather too suddenly. Following that, Thomas Arnold took over the charge. Earlier Stratton and Mukandram were associated with their endeavours on *Kathakasutras*. Of this association, Arnold recorded on November 12, 1902, "Dr. Stratton called Pandit Mukandram in Kashmir in November 1901 and employed him as his Pandit in Lahore, until June 1902, while he was engaged in working at the *Kathakasutras*. I know that Dr. Stratton thought very highly of Pandit Mukandram as a Sanskrit scholar and had sent for him from Kashmir as being more competent to assist him than any one of the Pandits available at hand". Stratton had made acquaintance of Mukandram in the summer of 1900 when he had consulted him about his studies and commenced a





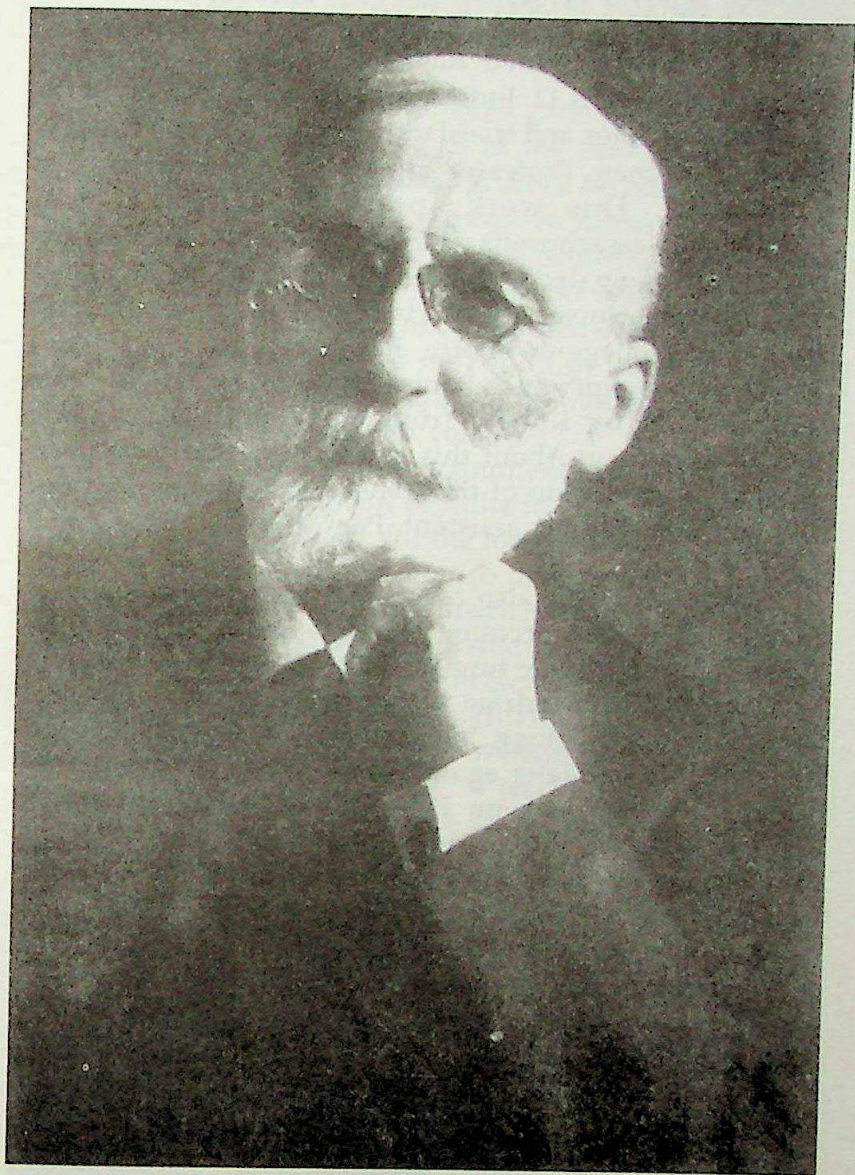
*Dr. Eugen T. Hultsch; b. 1857 d. 1927.*



correspondence on such matters making their association last for three years which was snapped by former's death in 1902.

In the summer of year 1908, the Norwegian linguist, Sten Konow, came to Kashmir as Government Epigraphist. Sten Konow was born on April 17, 1867 in Valdres, Norway. He was educated at the Halle University. He helped Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India from 1900-1903. From 1906 to 1908 he was Epigraphist in the Archaeological Survey of India. Back home he was for some time Professor of Indian Linguistics in Oslo. From 1914 to 1919 he taught Indology at Hamburg University. Invited by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore Konow had also a stint as Visiting Professor at Visva Bharati in 1924-1925. Konow died on June 19, 1948. Pandit Mukandram was deputed by the *Darbar* to assist him in his work in Kashmir. Their association in this task lasted a little about five months. Konow submitted his report to government about his tour in Kashmir. These notes bear ample record of Mukandram's great erudition. Of this association, Konow wrote. "He is an excellent Sanskrit scholar and speaks the language as easily as Kashmiri. I have also found his knowledge of Sanskrit literature very good and he has more than once been of use to me in interpreting difficult passages in inscriptions. His knowledge of Kashmir history is probably unsurpassed amongst the Pandits. He is moreover in possession of his store of information about the antiquities still existing in Kashmir and he is extremely keen to bring them to light. His services have therefore been valuable to me in collecting inscriptions and manuscripts, a work which is growing more and more difficult from year to year as most of such things have long ago been collected by others. It has always been a great pleasure to have to deal with him. This is due not only to his great learning and keen intellect but also to his general education and refined manners, which always make you feel that you are face to face with a real gentleman".





*Professor Richard Pischel; b. 1849 d. 1908.*



Prior to his appointment in India as Government Epigraphist, Konow while still at the University of Kristiana, Norway, edited Rajackhera's *Karpuramanjari*, a drama by the 900 A.D. Indian poet Rajackhera. The work contained the notes and translation of the drama by Charles Rockwell Lanman, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Harvard. This work appeared published from Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press in the year 1901. Konow dedicated the work to Professor Richard Pischel of the University of Halle and Professor Sylvain Levi of the College de France, Paris.

The manuscript which bore a commentary by Vasudeva was obtained by Konow from the Raghunath Temple Library at Jammu. About this fact Konow acknowledged, "I owe the possession of the transcript to the kindness of Dr. Stein who had his assistant, Pandit Sahajabhatta make it for me."

Mukandram was also associated with David Spooner on more than one occasion. In the summer of 1903, he assisted him for some time in Sanskrit readings. Later in the year 1907 Mukandram accompanied the then Director General of Archaeology, John Marshall and Spooner on a Kashmir tour and later again in the summer of 1908 aided Spooner in his work on Jonaraja. Of these encounters Spooner recorded, "At various times and in various ways Mukandram has been most kind and helpful to me. He is both learned and painstaking. His spoken Sanskrit is equal to any I have heard in Kashmir while his long experience with European scholars and his exceptional knowledge of things archaeological in State combine to make his services well nigh indispensable to the European engaged in antiquarian researches whether literary or otherwise. I feel much indebted to him and recommend him most cordially. On the whole it is probably impossible to find anything whatever in Kashmir without the assistance of a local Pandit. It was therefore very fortunate for me that the



*Darbar* with greatest courtesy placed the services of Pandit Mukandram at my disposal. His assistance proved to be of utmost value".

It was in consideration of such great help Mukandram rendered to these scholars that in the year 1915, Sir John Marshall testified to the splendid work he had rendered to the cause of archaeological research in India. From time to time he had worked with various officers of the department namely Stein, Sten Konow, Spooner and Hultzsch and had been of inestimable help to them. Marshall observed "I can safely say that there is no Pandit in India of whom I have heard such constant and such high praise from all with whom he has come in contact".

It was on the strong recommendation of Sir John Marshall that Government of India in 1909, applied to the Moravian Mission Board, for the loan of the services of Dr. A.H. Francke with a view to his carrying out an archaeological survey of the districts which then formed the kingdom of western Tibet. August Hermann Francke was born on November 5, 1870 in Gnadenfrie, Silesia. After



finishing school he worked for four years as a teacher in a missionary school in Klienwerda near Bautzen in Germany. During this period he learnt Sanskrit with the help of Fick's Grammar. He then attended a missionary school in Fairfield, England to prepare himself for his assignment in the Moravian Mission. In 1896 Francke left for India and took up his work in Leh.

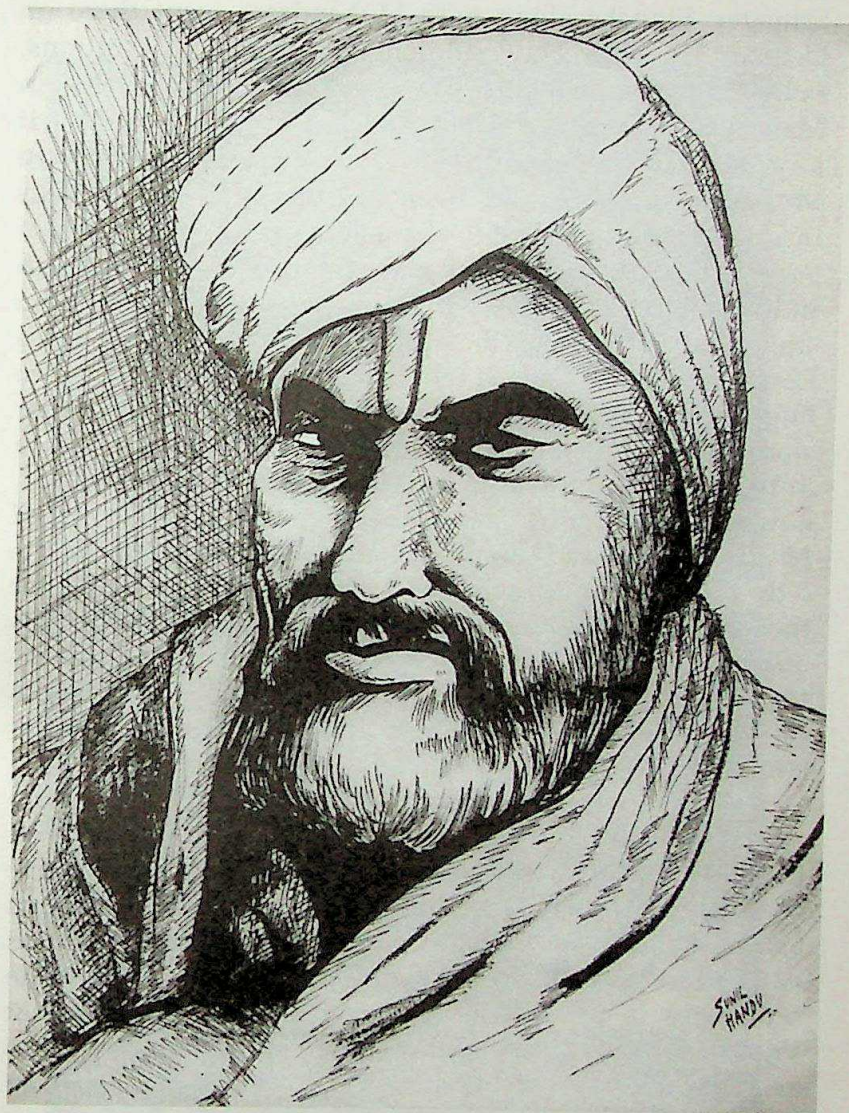
*Dr. A.H. Francke; b. 1870 d. 1930.*



Francke learned both classical Tibetan and Ladakhi dialect. In 1901 he published sketch of a Ladakhi Grammar. From 1904 onwards Francke published first newspaper in Ladakh, The Ladakhi News. In 1906 he was transferred to Khyelang in Lahaul. Two years later he went back to Germany. However in 1907 he returned to Ladakh to carry out an archaeological survey on behalf of the Government of India. The mountain region then a part of Indian empire therefore was indicated as Indian Tibet also. The rare accomplishments Dr. Francke had acquired in the course of his many years of earlier sojourns in Ladakh and Lahul and the fruits of which had been known to the learned world thus made it singularly and aptly fitted a task for Francke to set an exploration in Tibet.

Francke started from Simla on 14th June, 1909. He travelled upto Satluj valley through the hill state of Rampur and by crossing the Hang pass at sixteen thousand feet, he reached Spiti. He then crossed the Pharang pass at eighteen thousand three hundred feet and continued to cross two more mountain passes, the Thaglang at seventeen thousand five hundred feet and Photogonkha at sixteen thousand five hundred feet. After a brief stay in Leh, Francke travelled westwards yet to cross Namika at thirteen thousand four hundred feet followed by Zozila at eleven thousand three hundred feet before reaching Srinagar on the 16th October. In the course of his four months travel, Francke also crossed seven mountain passes of an average height equal to that of Mount Blanc. His results yielded important additions to our knowledge of history and archaeology of Tibet. In the year 1910, John Marshall proceeded to England on leave in whose place J.Ph. Vogel officiated as Director General of Archaeology, India. It thence fell on him to arrange for Francke's materials. In Srinagar Francke was entrusted to survey all those places which were connected with *Rinchan Bhoti*, the Ladakhi Tibetan king of Kashmir during 1319 to 1323. As per Walter





Mahamahopadhyaya Mukandram Shastri; b. 1847 d. 1921.  
(Pen sketch by Sunil Handu)



Lawrence, *Rinchan Bhoti Shah* built the *Jama* mosque of Srinagar. Francke along with Mukandram went there on October 18, 1909. They studied the mosque inscriptions. Following this they also examined the *Awwal Masjid* in Mahraj Ganj. Francke could not, however, discover in it any kind of works of art. However, according to Mukandram there had been a stone slab which was inscribed with non-Arabic characters said to have been of *Sastri*. *Sastri* is a term that was commonly used in north India then to designate *Nagari*. This designation could even stand for *Sharada* or Tibetan. About twenty years ago a European had carried off the inscribed slab and taken it to England. According to Mukandram, there was another stone at *Jama* mosque lying on its face which also had a non-Arabic inscription but the local Muslim priest, however, would not allow him to examine. The *Awwal Masjid* according to popular tradition is believed to be the oldest mosque in Srinagar and Mukandram asserted that thousands of Hindus were converted to Islam here. His assessment was in conformity to Lawrence's observations too. However, Francke cross-checked with Mukandram as to his knowledge of this historical fact, which the latter confirmed.

Earlier on the 7th October, Francke and Mukandram marched from Shimsha Khasna to Dras. When Moorcroft had visited Dras in 1820, he found it to be the joint property of King of Ladakh and Kashmir Malik, both of whom extracted one rupee annually from every household of Dras valley. Moorcroft made no mention of any Buddhist stone sculptures in Dras at all. It was twenty years later that Vigne discovered these. Cunningham identified the images as those of *Bodhisattvas* which bear female images, an opinion to which Francke did not concur.

The inscription was left to Mukandram's treatment. The stone was small, showing a man on a horse's back with right hand on the bridle and left hand wielding a sword.





*Sir Alexander Cunningham      The Pioneer of Indian Archaeology.*



Cunningham had even assumed as to identity of rider to the *Sati* but which Francke again had not agreed to, who believed it to be a *Rana* (Sanskrit *Rajanaka*). The stone had a very clear *Sharada* inscription on the reverse. It was copied by Cunningham who was, however, unable to translate it. Pandit Mukandram who studied it had no particular difficulty in reading and understanding it. The language was Sanskrit and the inscription gave the record of erection of two images, one of *Maitirya* and another of *Avalekitisvara* evidently two larger sculptures. The other related to two stones each about six feet and earlier abandoned by Cunningham, because of their *Sharada* inscriptions were readily explained by Mukandram. In this manner some of the most intriguing antiquarian puzzles were solved by Mukandram.

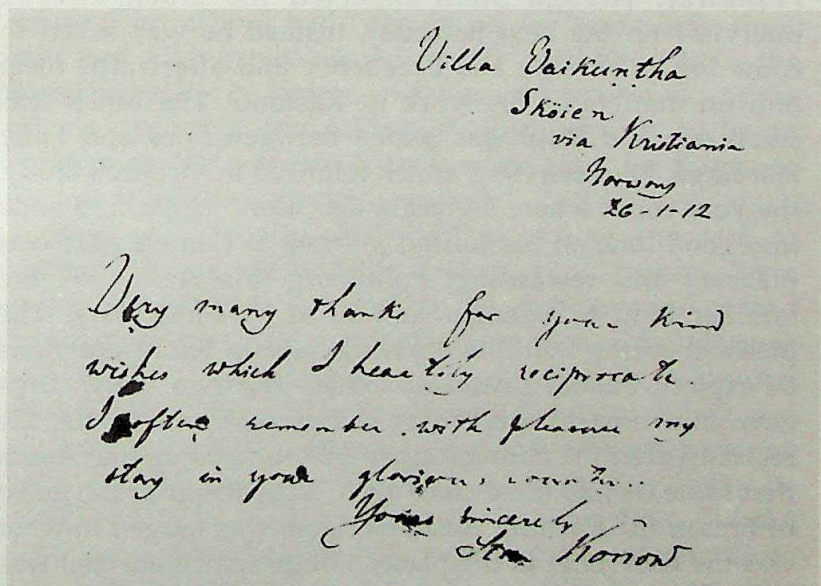
Of these archaeological results, Francke recorded: "On my return from Tibetan Frontier, I was very glad to get assistance of Pandit Mukandram. This gentleman showed extraordinary ability in deciphering and interpreting inscriptions in *Sharada* and ancient *Devanagari*. The Dras inscriptions which had been given up in despair by Cunningham became perfectly intelligible under his treatment. He also made the most of another inscription from Dras which was in bad state of preservation".

While Sten Konow had long stints of epigraphic work in Kashmir assisted by Mukandram, Konow also had Kashmiri linguistic subjects addressed between himself and Nityanand. Konow left Kashmir in 1911 for his native Norway. However even thereafter, Konow and Nityanand remained in constant communication. Of their long association, Konow wrote in a letter to Nityanand on January 26, 1912: "Very many thanks for your kind wishes which I heartily reciprocate. I often remember with pleasure my stay and pursuits in your glorious country". Like Konow, Spooner too remained in communication with Nityanand. He too left Kashmir in 1911 for a stint in





Professor Sten Konow; b. 1867 d. 1948.



Facsimile of the postcard dated January 26, 1912 written by Professor Sten Konow to Pandit Nityanand Shastri.



Bankipur, Bengal. In a letter dated June 5, 1911, Spooner wrote to Nityanand "Thanks for your letter which arrived this morning. I am glad that you are enjoying the summer thoroughly. Here in Bengal the hot weather is anything but pleasant and I am longing for the monsoon to break. I have stayed here to write my annual report and see it through the press. Dr. Sten Konow's address is so far I know, Department of Sanskrit, University of Kristiana, Norway. I have forgotten his home address but the university address will find him. Remember you should write Professor Sten Konow, Ph.D. With *salaams* to yourself and Mukandram."

With such fruitful associations the Kashmiri scholars had with the Europeans, official recognition for their attainments was not too much unexpected.

The year 1912 began much like any other. On April 1, Stein met Lord and Lady Hardinge on their State arrival in Peshawar. Though Stein expected the much desired interview on the next Saturday, instead he was asked to come for lunch with His Excellency and afterwards meet him on matters of his work in Kashmir. The lunch was small one and Stein was seated between Lord and Lady Hardinge. The interview, which followed in Viceroy's study, the very room where six years ago, Lord Minto had bade him good luck on his second journey to Central Asia was pleasant and rewarding. Following this Stein took the familiar road to Srinagar and so to Mohand Marg. The pleasant spring with the dazzling hope of his future plans to explore Balakh possessed Stein. The two days' drive gave him time to think over things past and future. He reconstructed the chronology of all journeys up and down that route he had done since 1888. At Srinagar as the guest of Fraser, the Kashmir Resident, Stein was lodged in what was the best room in the place, a huge apartment that was intended to serve the Viceroy during his forthcoming autumn visit. Kashmir was Stein's home of choice. There



old friends greeted him. Oliver from Ladakh, the Neves and Dunstervilles and the old native friends Mukandram, Hara Bhat and Nityanand. In this charming and pleasant union, however, there was a regret also. "But alas for the best of my Pandit friends, Govind Kaul, my return comes too late. Still I have the relief to know his family is cared for and that is something under Kashmir conditions", lamented Stein.

During his short stay with Fraser in Kashmir, Stein conceived the creation of Kashmir Art Institute with its Director as Fred Andrews, his friend whom he called 'Baron'. To test his idea, he wrote to another friend Publius on May 13, 1912. "You can imagine my delight when during my first confabulation I discovered that Fraser was fully aware of the need for providing for systematic guidance of Kashmir art industries. By the end of 19th century, the great Kashmir shawl industry had been battered to death by machine made European imitations". The idea of technical art school had been in air for some little time. Stein had a long talk on the matter with Dr. Mittra, the Home Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir State and got the latter's approval for Andrews' appointment to begin working on the scheme. It took some time for things to take off from the stage of mere talk.

Stein was equally forthright in stating the case to Andrews. In his letter dated May 6, 1912, to him, Stein wrote, "I should advise you to make up your mind to take the Kashmir chance for good. The more I see of this glorious land the more I pity those who live and work in London whatever their pay etc. For a pleasant existence in England one must have independence and plenty of money or else tastes not too artistic or intellectual. Yours are. I may be prejudiced in my love for Kashmir and freedom. But if I were you I should rather aim at being able eventually to retire in Kashmir on say rupees six hundred per mensem than at getting a post in London however interesting. For

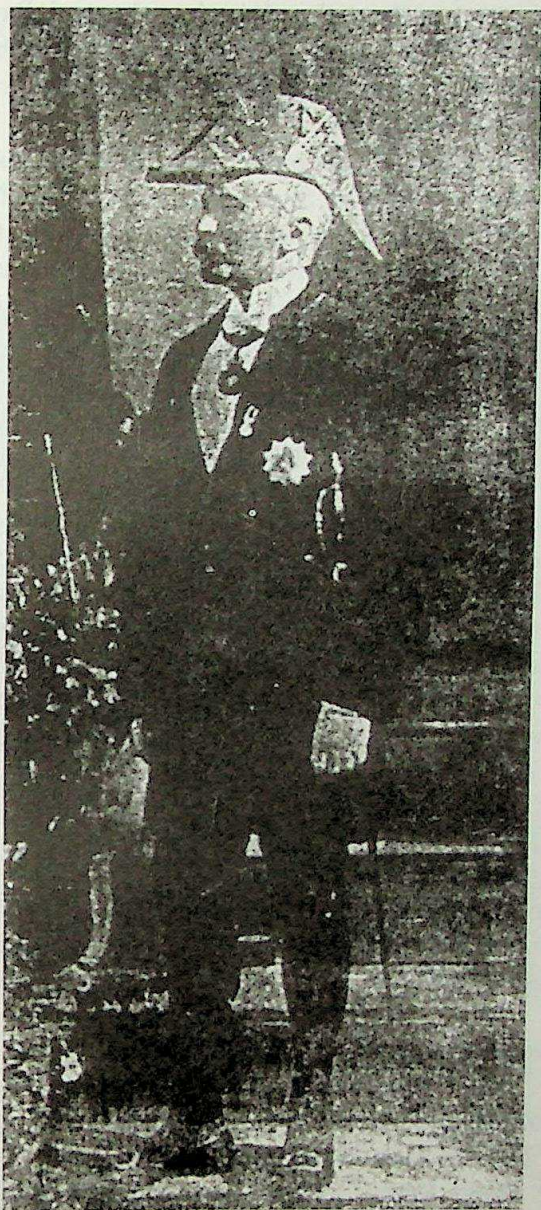


me Kashmir will always serve the best base." Stein continued to press his argument in letters judiciously spaced. June 29, 1912, he again wrote, "I am too anxious and quite as eager as you are dear friend to maintain our collaboration to which I owe so much when I thought of the chance that might open for you at Srinagar. I was selfish enough to remember that I am fully resolved to make Kashmir my working place for the future as far as it be in my power. You know how attached I am to the land, to my friends here and to my Marg in particular".

Stien was on Mohand Marg from where his stream of letters went out and would also receive a stockpile of replies. In July 1912, to the utter astonishment of Stein, a heavy *Dak* bag to Mohand Marg brought him a letter from the Viceroy's hand announcing the K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of Indian Empire) and also a bundle of congratulatory telegrams. He scarcely believed his eyes. "How could I as a simple man of research foresee this more than a generous recognition, the due otherwise only of men who have worked hard for the State. It seems in some ways an overwhelming attention almost. All night my thoughts were turning to that dear one, Govind Kaul, who would have rejoiced so greatly in this acknowledgement of my efforts and who has left me long ago."

To Barnett his good friend at the British Museum, he ascribed this official recognition to the attention which oriental research received in India since Sir Harcourt Butler in 1911 took charge of Education Department in Government of India. It was indeed Stein's year of recognition. Twenty years earlier when struggling with *Rajatarangini*, he had pleaded, petitioned and yearned for official consideration of his and his collaborators. Ten years before returning from his triumphant first expedition he had expected a slight nod of official approval. Now almost inured to official disregard he was in truth overwhelmed. The honour erased his sense of slight when the government





*Aurel Stein in the dress prescribed for the investiture ceremony.  
Knighthood at Srinagar, 1912 A.D.*



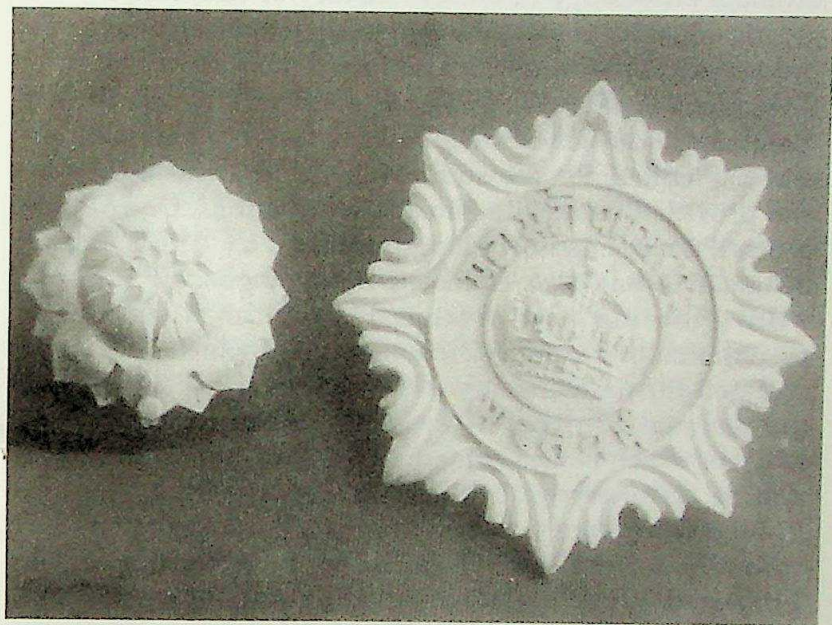
had refused to give the title of Archaeological Explorer. It substituted another category. Sir Indian Archaeology Knighthood was the clear sign that the establishment had now taken him unto itself.

Stein's investiture took place on 12th October, 1912 at Srinagar where he stayed at a hotel run by M. Nedou, a Frenchman who had known him since his first visit to Kashmir. Now his accommodation was the finest. The splendid occasion served Stein well. The Maharaja's court was present. The native scholars Mukandram, Nityanand and Hara Bhat together with Lal Singh of the Kashmir Survey were duly invited and felt proud of their *sahib*. Stein had a brief private interview with the Viceroy. He was able to thank him for all the kindness he had shown to him. Stein took the opportunity to inform the Viceroy that his recognition was no less on account of help he had received from his Kashmiri friends. Far away in England in the same year, George Grierson and Thomas Arnold too were knighted. Precisely two months later to Stein's recognition, came the Royal official recognition for Mukandram also. The Governor General, Hardinge of Penhurst, conferred on him the title of '*Mahamahopadhyaya*' as a personal distinction. Four days later the Gazette of India in a notification of Foreign Department under the signature of S.M. Fraser, the British Resident in Kashmir, read: "His Excellency, the Viceroy, is pleased to confer the title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* upon Pandit Mukandram Shastri of the Department of Archaeology, Jammu and Kashmir State".

The knighthood enabled Stein to sit along with the Viceroy and with his Lady and the title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* gave Mukandram the privilege to take a seat in *Darbar* next to the titular *Raja*.

Three years later George Grierson, on June 10, 1915 recounted his long association with Mukandram. "It has been my privilege to count him as my friend and fellow





*Photograph showing Badge and Insignia plate of the title  
Mahamahopadhyaya conferred on Mukandram Shastri, 1912 A.D.*



worker for something like twenty years. I have high opinion of his attainments and value greatly the help that he has from time to time given to me and to other students of oriental subjects. His erudition as a Sanskrit scholar has been recognised by the title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* and my own experience has shown me that he is specially versed with departments of *Kavya* and Grammar. He has an intimate knowledge of ancient history of Kashmir and has given valuable help in deciphering old inscriptions that presented considerable difficulties. His knowledge of Kashmiri, his native language, is profound. He has been of the greatest assistance to me in my studies of that language and has edited for me some valuable old Kashmiri texts and provided them with Sanskrit translations. One of these is *Siva Parinaya*, is now being published by Asiatic Society Bengal. He has also collected many thousand Kashmiri words for me and arranged them in slips for the preparation of Kashmiri Dictionary upon which I have been engaged for past fifteen years. I cannot speak too highly of the zeal and efficiency with which he has carried out this work in which he has combined the learning of a Kashmiri Pandit with accurate methods demanded by modern European philology. I wish him every prosperity and can cordially recommend to the kind consideration of any confrere desirous of pursuing oriental studies in Kashmir".

Pandit Mukandram Shastri passed away in the winter of 1921. It was another great loss to oriental scholarship. Stein had lamented earlier the death of his great Indian friend Govind Kaul. He along with Grierson now felt the loss to oriental scholarship in the death of Mukandram as a serious blow, the void of which they considered was hard to fill. Both paid their tributes.

Srinagar, December 16, 1921. "The death of my old friend and assistant Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Mukandram Shastri has been a severe loss to Sanskrit scholarship in Kashmir and will be widely felt wherever



in India the cause of its ancient learning and literature is cherished. Having been intimately acquainted with him ever since as a young man he rendered me very scholarly help in 1891-1892, when I was preparing my critical edition of the Sanskrit text of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, the oldest chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. I consider it my duty to put on record how greatly, I value the eminent services which he rendered to Sanskrit researches during the thirty years which have passed since, and how amply the family he has left behind deserves the special consideration and help of the State which he served so well for the latter portion of his life in the Research Department. Pandit Mukandram's greatest services to scholarship were rendered during the long period commencing about 1895 and lasting almost to the close of his life when he assisted Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., the far famed organiser and Director of the Indian Linguistic Survey, in his epoch-making labours on the Kashmiri language. It was on my recommendation that my friend, Sir George Grierson, first secured Pandit Mukandram's assistance for his masterly editions of Pandit Isvara Kaul's Kashmiri Dictionary and Kashmiri Grammar which laid the foundations for the philological study of the language, I know of what value Pandit Mukandram's labours were to him in these tasks and others, equally important that followed, and can appreciate the extent of the services the Pandit thus rendered to the elucidation of Kashmiri, a very interesting and ancient Indo-Aryan language. But quite apart from these labours, Pandit Mukandram has earned the gratitude of all students of ancient Indian philosophy and religion by the excellent editions of many important Sanskrit texts on *Saiva Bhakti*, a branch of Indian religious thought which had its chief development in Kashmir. He brought out these editions while first as an assistant and subsequently as the head of the 'Research Department' of the State. They made his name and merits familiar to many distinguished



scholars in India as well as Europe”.

Rathfarnham, Surrey, England, December 11, 1921. “*Mahamahopadhyaya*, (late) Mukandram Shastri, rendered very great services to the study of Kashmiri language and literature. He came to me a quarter of a century ago, braving the heat and discomforts of more than one summer in the plains, to help in my researches and after my return to England was in constant correspondence with me up to the last. He searched for, and procured for me one valuable Kashmiri text, which he edited and translated for me, with great skill and accuracy. He aided me in the preparation of the edition of the Kashmiri Grammar in Sanskrit written by Pandit Isvara Kaul, which I was able to publish through the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and which is the foundation of all subsequent studies of the language. Another book largely dependent on his labour was the edition, by Dr. Barnett and myself, of the ‘*Lallavakyani*’ lately published by the Royal Asiatic Society. When, many years ago, Isvara Kaul died, he left behind a mass of material for the preparation of a Kashmiri Dictionary, these were subsequently made over to Pandit Mukandram. He worked at these for many years under my supervision, and the ultimate result of his labours formed the basis of the Kashmiri Dictionary, now being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Besides these important labours in his own language, the deceased Pandit edited and published for the State a large number of Sanskrit books dealing with the ancient *Saiva* religion of the State. These have opened out a whole vista of important philosophical works to the view of occidental students. For these reasons, I would urge that the deceased *Mahamahopadhyaya* deserved well of the Kashmir State”.

The much desired official recognition, however, eluded Nityanand. Both Grierson and Stein were keen to see that it came to their friend. Both hoped and tried for it. The year 1928 was important in the life of George Grierson.



The year brought him an exalted recognition for his attainments. The British Royalty conferred on him the title of Order of Merit. It was an occasion for all his associates to pay tribute to his scholarly achievements. Nityanand from Srinagar sent a letter of congratulations to the great linguist on this occasion. In reply, Grierson paid tribute to Kashmiri scholarship itself that reflected in his own recognition. Surrey, England, November 12, 1928. "Very many thanks for your letter of October 20 in which you are kind enough to congratulate me on the conferment of title O.M. I am indeed very proud to have the honour and my pleasure is much increased by the knowledge that learned friends like you who are competent to judge consider it has been deserved".

Grierson hoped that recognition did not elude the most erudite of Kashmirian scholar. He did everything within his means. November 11, 1930, in a letter to Nityanand, wrote Grierson, "Your letter of the 12th October, reached me a few days ago. I should indeed be much gratified if some recognition of your Sanskrit learning is shown to you. No one in Kashmir would deserve it better. I should be very glad to help you in this if I could, but unfortunately it is so many years since I left India. And there is no longer any friend there with whom I could communicate on the subject. However you may be sure that I shall bear the matter in my mind and if I find an opportunity of saying a word on your behalf, I shall take it. At the same time I fear that there is little likelihood of this".

Two years later, March 15, 1932 in another letter Grierson wrote to Nityanand he recounted on the matter, as the official recognition continued to elude Nityanand. "I am glad to get your letter. You do not say how you are but I hope that you and your family are well. I have never heard if you got the title you hoped for when you last wrote. I did my best for you but I could not do much as I do not personally know any one in authority in India



now-a-days. It is thirty-two years since I left India and none of my friends are there now. You are kind enough to ask about my health. I have lately been ill and confined to bed but I am now better though I cannot read or write much as my eyesight is failing. But I am thankful to say that I have been able to finish the Kashmiri Dictionary. The last part will be soon out. It was good of you to write as I am always glad to hear from old friends".

Stein was also aware of Nityanand's own hope in this regard believing that the latter's hope could only follow by the results of his sustained work. In a letter dated June 27, 1912 to Nityanand, Stein wrote. "May Sri Nityanand Shastri behold this request of Dr. Aurel Stein. I was very happy to see the letter written by you. That letter indicates the increase and enriches the relations of friendships. I am grateful to you for your kindness, which made me happy. It is to be decided. The only reason for my delay in replying to your letter is my indulgence in many works and the flow of letters from my friends, which made me more tired during these days. There is no doubt that there would be a suitable result for your work. Send your book to Sri Grierson. By the grace of *Rajadhiraja* we two have got equal posts at the same time. May *Sri Sharada* fructify all your efforts and keep you healthy."

Stein took every opportunity to remind the authorities in the government to accord recognition to Nityanand for his attainments. June 29, 1928, Stein sent a note to Sir G.E.C. Wakefield, the then Development Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. "Pandit Nityanand has been known to me for the last thirty six years as a very keen and capable Sanskrit scholar. Eversince I have followed with zeal, interest and satisfaction his career as a scholar and teacher, which led to his appointment as Assistant Professor at the Maharaja's college. He is one of the very few genuine scholars still left in Kashmir and how difficult it would be to replace him by a scholar equally qualified. He has shown



himself on all occasions anxious and able to further sound Sanskrit studies and on this account is known not only to myself but to such distinguished Sanskrit scholars in Europe as Sir George Grierson, O.M., Professor J.Ph. Vogel of Leiden University, Professor Franklin Edgerton of Yale University and others. I think myself qualified to give my strongest support to the Pandit's attainments and feel sincerely grateful if after receiving the opinion of Mr. Macdermott you could kindly help to assure that the services of this excellent scholar are recognised in the interest of Sanskrit learning."

Four years later while away to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Stein took yet another opportunity to impress the authorities in Kashmir for granting a suitable recognition to Nityanand's merit. September 7, 1932, Stein wrote to Colonel E.J.D. Colvin, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. "I have known him for more than forty years, and have followed with real satisfaction his successful work as a Sanskrit scholar and teacher. Pandit Nityanand is certainly the foremost present representative of that traditional Sanskrit learning which has given to the Brahman community of Kashmir, small as it has always been, a distinguished place in the history of Sanskrit literature since early times. It is a special merit of Pandit Nityanand that he has combined with his scholarly training on traditional lines, full comprehension for the critical methods of western philological study. This combination has helped him to render very useful services to succession of distinguished European Sanskrit scholars who have had occasion to visit Kashmir. I know Sir George Grierson, Professor Vogel (of Leiden University) and others hold him in high esteem, just as I do myself. It would be a source of real satisfaction to me if an opportunity offered to have his merits recognized by government in an appropriate way".

Six years later Stein again pleaded with Diwan Swami Gopal Iyengar, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.



TELEPHONE,  
43, CAMBERLEY.

RATHFARNHAM,  
CAMBERLEY,  
SURREY.

November 12, 1928.

Dear Sir,

Very many thanks for your letter of October 20, in which you are kind enough to congratulate me on the conferment of the title of O.M. I am indeed very proud to have the honour, and my pleasure is much increased by the knowledge that learned friends like you, who are competent to judge, consider it has been deserved.

Yours very sincerely,

*Genl. Grierson*

Pandit Nityananda Śāstrī,  
S.P. College,  
Śrīnagar,  
Kashmir.

Facsimile of the letter dated November 12, 1928 written by  
Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.



In a letter dated July 14, 1938 he wrote. "May I take the liberty, though lacking personal acquaintance, to introduce to you my old and cherished scholar friend, Pandit Nityanand Shastri, late Professor of Sanskrit at the Maharaja Partap Singh College, Srinagar. I have known him personally for the last forty-seven years, since the time when he was the favourite pupil of the late Pandit Damodar, the most accomplished Sanskrit scholar of Kashmir in modern times. The labours I devoted between 1888 and 1900 to the critical edition, translation and commentary of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, the only true historical text of Sanskrit literature, afforded me ample opportunities of gaining close contact with the Sanskrit *savants* of Kashmir, the land where traditional learning of Hindu India had flourished in old times greatly and survived even until recent years. I feel thence competent to express an opinion as to Pandit Nityanand's great merits as a scholar. On my recommendation a number of distinguished Sanskritists of Europe and America who visited Kashmir after I turned myself to another field of orientalist research on my Central Asian explorations, were glad to avail themselves of Pandit Nityanand's help as a teacher and collaborator and formed a very high opinion of his scholarship. In the same way Sir George Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E. the greatest authority on Indian languages, was glad to utilize Pandit Nityanand's scholarly knowledge of Kashmiri when preparing his great work, the Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language published by the Poyal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir George Grierson just as myself would have been very glad to see Pandit Nityanand's merits as a Sanskrit scholar recognised long ago by an appropriate title".

The deserving title never came to Nityanand. But the traditional blaze of Kashmiri scholarship kept glowing, ever.



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## Kashmiri Texts

"Kashmir has a small but respectable list of literary works about which not much is known", wrote Grierson in the year 1915 while discussing Kashmiri language in his monumental work 'Linguistic Survey of India'. However in the course of his linguistic survey of the language, and preparation of Dictionary of Kashmiri Language he was already aware of the oldest Kashmir author Lal Ded, who lived around 14th century and whose hundreds of verses were quoted all over the valley. The verses are all religious and strongly tinged with *Saiva* philosophy. Grierson was also aware of the first written Kashmiri poem *Banasuravadha* whose author however was not known to him. He had also acquainted himself with another Kashmiri work *Mahanayaprakasa*. Other Kashmiri texts to which his attention was drawn included Divakar Prakash Bhatt's (Prakash Kurigami) history of Rama entitled *Ramavataracharita* with sequel entitled the *Lavakushacarita*. Both of these are highly poetical works in pure Kashmiri. They are specially interesting as containing many legends not found in any Indian version of the *Ramayana*. As a sample in this poem Sita, the wife of Rama, is said to have been the daughter of Mandodari who abandoned her immediately after birth and subsequently married Ravana. History of Krishna entitled *Krishanavataralila* by Parmanand too had come to the notice of Grierson. It was a work which followed the Indian tradition much more closely. The three works regarded as excellent specimens of Kashmiri language, though in Hindi dialect, are not highly Sanskritised. With much fuller Sanskrit vocabulary, being history of the circumstances connected with Siva's marriage with Parvati entitled *Siva Parinaya* also attracted Grierson's



attention. The work is full of *Saiva* philosophy.

Prior to Grierson, Professor Buhler had also mentioned about the following Kashmiri works, of which he had even obtained the manuscripts; *Smsaramayajalamahasukhdukhcarita* by Ganka Prakasa, the *Krishnavatara* by Sahib Kaul and the anonymous Sanskrit *Amarkosas* with Kashmiri explanations, the *Janmacharita*, *Nirvanadisaslokistava*, *Ramavatara* and *Sivalaganvarnana*. These Kashmiri works however were not seen by Grierson. Connected with formal literature though not a part of it were also the subjects of folk tales and proverbs. Kashmir is a land of proverbs and common speech is profusely interladed with them. These often give information about customs and character of people. Kashmir is also celebrated for its folk tales. Not only are some familiar in every home but are even worthy of Arabian Nights.

Grierson was very well aware of the practice of these being recited by Kashmiris with astonishing verbal accuracy which had been handed down from generations in line from their predecessors. These often contained words that had fallen out of use and with the meaning of which they were unacquainted. One such case in Grierson's consideration was Stein's record of Hatim's tales which he had collected alongwith Pandit Govind Kaul. These were also handed over to Grierson for translation and publication.

Besides these Kashmiri works, Grierson had edited himself in the year 1898, the excellent grammar of Kashmiri in Sanskrit language, the *Kashmirishabdamrita* of Pandit Ishwar Kaul which was published by Asiatic Society of Bengal. "To a philologist, Kashmiri is a language of great importance as it is the only example of an Aryan language in the condition of being converted from an analytic to synthetic language", observed Grierson. Hence the study on the available literature of this language fascinated Grierson's interest throughout his philological and



linguistic indulgences. Grierson was also candid while compiling his monumental work, the Dictionary of Kashmiri Language by stating, "the authority of this Dictionary mainly depends on the fact that greater portion has been prepared by Kashmiri Pandits and Iswara Kaul's Kashmiri grammar the *Kashmirishabdamrita* is my authority in all doubtful cases". Hence in the course of his linguistic investigations and the thematic analysis while editing Kashmiri texts and study of language, Grierson relied heavily on Kashmiri collaborators.

In June 1898 Grierson was in Simla, studying Kashmiri language with the assistance and help of Pandit Mukandram. Mukandram was with him for almost two years when for some reasons he had to leave for Srinagar. Acknowledging his help Grierson wrote, "He has been of the greatest assistance to me though he is now leaving my service. I shall explore to employ him in his own home. He is an excellent scholar and has acquired the power of critically editing and preparing old Kashmiri works which had never been edited before". While Mukandram proceeded for his homeward journey, Grierson had also to give a temporary halt to his Kashmiri studies. "He is now going to his home as I am for the present ceasing my Kashmiri studies".

In the course of his continued pursuits Grierson's linguistic instincts called him to study the Kashmiri texts and finally get these edited, printed and published. As he had served the Asiatic Society, Bengal as Secretary, the arrangements for publication obviously were made without any difficulties. Besides Mukandram, Grierson also remained in constant communication with Nityanand on the subject of Kashmiri texts and in some of these works about the queries connected with their authorship. It was in the year 1921, Grierson became serious to analyse the 14th century Kashmiri work *Mahanayaprakasa* of Sitikantha. He had studied the work but had found it archaic to



understand. He was not sure of his treatment and hence hoped to secure the help of a Kashmiri scholar.

In a letter dated April 20, 1917, Grierson had written to Nityanand, "A long time ago you very kindly offered me your help in my researches into Kashmiri language for which I was very grateful. Up to the present time I have not had an opportunity for asking your help but some time I may write and ask you for it." It was in conformity to this hope he again placed his request for Nityanand's help in a letter he wrote to Aurel Stein on June 4, 1921. "I wonder if Nityanand is going to write that *Chaya* to *Mahanayaprakasa* also called *Maharathaprakasa* of Sitikanth. He wrote to me some time ago that he could find no manuscript of it but that is not necessary. It has been printed in the series of Sanskrit works published by Kashmir Research Department. All I want is a word for word Sanskrit *Chaya* of *Prakrit* verses and also if he wishes a proper translation of them in good Sanskrit or in English whichever he likes. In fact I want done for them exactly what Govind Kaul did for Hatim's tales. The book is of an immense importance for the history of Kashmiri language. I have myself made my own translations and analysis of every poem occurring in it but the language is very difficult and I want view of a Kashmiri scholar. The *Prakrit* verses are in *Apabrhamisa* from which Kashmiri has descended".

Stein then camped at Malshahi Bagh, Kashmir, forwarded the extract of Grierson's letter to Nityanand accompanying his own dated July 7, 1921. "I have just received in a letter from Sir George Grierson the request shown by the extract which I enclose. You will remember that you kindly promised to help my old friend with Sanskrit translation and commentary of *Prakrit* verses contained in *Mahanayaprakasa*. As Sir George Grierson writes there is no need of you finding a manuscript of the text. All he wants can be done equally well from the printed text. I shall feel very grateful if you could kindly do this



work as soon as possible and let me have your translation for transmission to Sir George Grierson. I hope you are keeping very fit and looking forward to your vacation. It has been a very sorrow to me to learn of your father's death. I am sure you must feel his loss greatly. At the same time it must be a satisfaction to you to feel how much pleased your father must have been with the distinction you had earned by your work as a teacher and scholar. It would be a great pleasure to me if you could find time to pay me a visit up here during your vacation. We could then talk over many things which interest us both".

From the letter Grierson wrote to Stein, it is clear that he was keen to have the commentary of *Mahanayaprakasa* written by Nityanand. The importance of the work in his estimation was too high, equating it to the great scholarly effort of Pandit Govind Kaul in respect of the edition of Hatim's Tales. Grierson acknowledged that *Mahanayaprakasa* was of immense importance for the history of Kashmiri language. Though Grierson translated and analysed every poem occurring in the book, he admitted that its language was very difficult hence he wanted view of a Kashmiri scholar. As evident from Stein's letter to Nityanand, Grierson was keen to have the help from the latter and in this regard Stein too was desirous to help his old friend, Grierson.

The task was completed as per the arrangements arrived between Stein, Grierson and Nityanand. In acknowledgement, George Grierson wrote to Nityanand on March 7, 1922, "Sir Aurel Stein sent me some time ago the Sanskrit translation of the *Mahanayaprakasa* which you were kind enough to prepare for me. I am very much obliged to you for the trouble which you have been so kind as to take. The *Chaya* which you have prepared is just what I wanted and will be a great help to me. At present I am at work on Kashmiri book called *Kashmirika Dinanathavrachitta Srikrishnavtaralilla Caritam*. Can you kindly



tell me who Dinanath was, when he lived and if he wrote any other books, if you can give me this information, I shall be much obliged".

The commitment to the cause of Sanskrit scholarship reached its zenith as Nityanand had completed the task in the short span of a few months overcoming his personal grief owing to the death of his father, Pandit Madhav Kak. He proved Stein right by the result of his work.

While Grierson was engaged in editing *Krishnavtataracarita*, he was in regular communication with Nityanand seeking many an advice in the matter. To a letter Nityanand wrote to Grierson, his reply dated January 9, 1923, reads "Very many thanks for the letter which has been forwarded to me by Sir Aurel Stein. My copy of *Krishnavtataracarita* begins as follows:

*vasudeva razanis krisanajevast lagus  
buh dasta dasta pamposh  
yusu lagae krisanajevanis navas  
tas karae krisnajevo sarvaupakar  
yeti yusu neare ta vate krisanabavanus  
ta lagas buh dasta dasta pamposh*

It is therefore the same as *Krishnavataracarita* of Prakashram about which you wrote. I shall be much obliged if you will kindly tell me of all you know about Prakashram and where he lived. In my copy of *Krishnavataracarita* the last line is *Itti Kasmirika Dinanathiya rachit Sri Krishnavtataracarita samapitam* and that is why I said that the author's name was Dinanath. Moreover near the end of the work, he says *Dyoon aas sharan Krisnpadan talie* and here there is a *tika* which says *kritt smanmadhyama Dinanath itti granthvarita smagiyapitam*. But this may have been a mistake of the late Pandit Mukandram who wrote the *tika*. Perhaps Dinanath was *Upanaama* of Prakashram. Is that possible? I send to you by this mail three parts of *Siva Parinaya* which is all that has yet been printed. As soon as any more parts come out I will send them to you. I hope



that you will like them".

As the Kashmiri texts were in the course of time to appear in press, Grierson discussed every aspect of their minutest details from philological to linguistic nature and also those connected to their textual and historical context, with Nityanand. As the queries of different nature were confronted by Grierson in these Kashmiri texts, he referred the same to Nityanand in the course of his study for clarification of all his doubts. In a letter dated May 7, 1923, Grierson wrote to Nityanand. "I am very much obliged to you for your letter of March 13 in which you were kind enough to give me full particulars of Pandit Prakashram. I should have written to you before". It was during this time Grierson himself was suffering from ailment of his eyes as a result of which he was not able to read or write for more than a month then. And as he recovered from his ailment, he took the first opportunity to write to Nityanand. "They are better now so I am able to write a short letter to you".

Simultaneously the edition of another Kashmiri text *Siva Parinaya* of Krishana Joo Razdan was on hand with Grierson, of which he had already sent the first three volumes to Nityanand in January 1923. The close scholarly contact between Grierson and Nityanand remained uninterrupted. December 1, 1924, Grierson wrote yet one more letter to Nityanand. "Many thanks for your letter of November 4, 1924 and for information you have given me about the *Krishnavtaracarita*. In a separate parcel I am sending you parts IV and V of *Siva Parinaya* for yourself and also a complete set of parts I to V which I shall be obliged by your giving to Sri Krishna Rajanaka. When the next part comes I will send it you. It is now nearly all printed. Owing to the death of Pandit Mukandram Shastri, there seems to have been some confusion as I believed that the Asiatic Society of Bengal sent him copies for Krishna Rajanaka. When you send the books to Krishna Rajanaka, will you



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श्रीकृष्णवतारलीला ।

SRI-KRSNĀVATĀRA-LĪLĀ

COMPOSED IN KASHMIRI

BY  
DINA-NĀTHA

TEXT

EDITED, TRANSLATED, AND TRANSCRIBED IN THE ROMAN  
CHARACTER

BY:

SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.L.E., Ph.D., D.LITT., LL.D., F.R.A.

*Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
Correspondant étranger de l'Institut de France; Honorary Vice-President, Royal  
Asiatic Society; Honorary Member: Nāgarī Pracārīnī Sabhā (Benares),  
American Oriental Society, Société Finno-Ougrienne, l'Association Phoné-  
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kindly give him my compliments and tell him that it has been a great pleasure to me to see his excellent work printed. But that I am sorry that it is not probable that the Asiatic Society of Bengal will be able to print any more of his poems. They have already spent great deal of money in printing *Siva Parinaya*. Some time ago you were good enough to prepare for me *Chaya* to the *Mahanayaprakasa*. There is one passage about which I am in doubt and I shall be much obliged if you will give the meanings. The 6th sloka of *Adhyaya-2* is

*lohit mad bindu na mitrae vatajimar  
tanea melusu aayae  
lohit mad bindu dhou bhinov vatlahari  
tamae melanaeye aagata  
ta yae raat halae paru dinnae  
gandagadithireaya itayae  
tasmad varuna samudhaya param  
drabdah grathitgranitha aarvimurta*

You translate *raat halae* by *Vakursamudaya*. Can you kindly give me the exact meaning of *raat* and also of *halae*. Is *halae* the *halla* of *Sivasutrani*. Also what is the exact meaning of *dinnae*, *thireaya* and *itayae*. You translate *dinnae* by *drubada*. Is this right. Does not *dinnae* mean *danatae*".

Remarkable, that the legendary linguist placed every point of doubt for clarification before his Kashmiri master. Their association was remarkable from other point also. Their friendship was a continuous thread in the rosary of scholarly pursuits that western scholars were engaged in with their Kashmiri counterparts. Stein, Grierson and Nityanand were the most important links in this fabric as Grierson wrote in the same letter, "I saw Sir Aurel Stein the other day and he was very well. We talked about all his Kashmiri friends and I was glad to hear that you were in good health".

It was just seventeen days when Grierson again wrote to Nityanand on December 17, 1924, informing him about



the last volume of *Siva Parinaya* part VI coming through the press from Asiatic Society Bengal. "In continuation of my letter, December 1, 1924, I have much pleasure in sending you today two copies of part VI of *Siva Parinaya* and hope you will find it interesting. This concludes the work. Will you keep one copy for yourself and kindly give other to Krishna Razdan with my compliments".

In such circumstances Nityanand had already become the pivot in the interface between Kashmiri scholars and Western indologist. The pole star doubtless was Stein.

The complete text of *Siva Parinaya* in six volumes was published by Asiatic Society Bengal between the years 1912-1924. The last volume appeared on June 23, 1924. Acknowledging the help and remarkable assistance Pandit Mukandram gave in the publication of the complete edition of *Siva Parinaya*, Grierson wrote: "With much regret I record the death of an excellent scholar *Mahamahopadhyaya* Mukandram Shastri which occurred in the year 1921 while this work was passing through the press. His knowledge of the Kashmiri language, ancient and modern, was I believe unique. I owe much to his teaching and the help he gave me in preparation of the *Chaya* and of notes which formed the basis of Kashmiri Dictionary now being published by the Society. The Sanskrit *Chaya* is an extremely literal word for word translation which he prepared under my supervision". The other scholar whose help Grierson took in seeing the work through the press was Professor Jules Bloch. Of his assistance, Grierson wrote: "I must also offer my thanks to Professor Jules Bloch who was kind enough to read through the proofs of earlier *Fasciculi*. The outbreak of war called him forth to the defense of his country and prohibited me from troubling him further with my doubts or difficulties, but I can not refrain from putting on record my gratitude for his valuable help."

Grierson's edition of *Sri Krishnavataralilla* published in 1928 by the Asiatic Society Bengal was based on a single



manuscript that he had procured some thirty years ago in Kashmir. The work is a life of *Krishna* based like the *Prema Sagrara* of India on the 10th *Skandha* of *Bhagavata Purana*. It closely follows that work both in the general order of events narrated and in details and indeed some passages are almost translations. The poem is a great favourite with Pandits of the valley who often are heard quoting stray verses from it. It was observed by Grierson that the manuscript which came into his hand was the only complete copy that he ever saw of it.

He was also aware that his edition of the text could in no way be pretended to be a critical one. Yet in his opinion the work offered was a good specimen of a comparatively little known Kashmiri language. It was well known that until the end of the 19th century when Ishwar Kaul who had laid down in his *Kashmirishabdnamita* a fixed norm for spelling Kashmiri words, the spelling of Kashmiri manuscript written in *Nagari* or *Sharada* characters was totally without system. This was the case with the original manuscript of *Sri Krishnavataralilla* that had come into Grierson's possession. It was left to the authority of Pandit Mukandram to copy out for Grierson in Ishwar Kaul's system of spellings and at the same time he also prepared in Sanskrit a *Chaya* or word for word commentary of the whole manuscript. The *Chaya* besides enabled Grierson to check the text and to see that at least it contained no blunders and was a good specimen of correct Kashmiri. The erudite help of Pandit Mukandram helped Grierson in translating the poem into English who also transliterated the text in the Roman character.

Even though the identification of the author of this Kashmiri text was analysed with the help of Nityanand yet Grierson was never certain about the author's identity. Making his opinion on this aspect of the work Grierson wrote: "It is a curious fact that I have never been able to satisfy myself as to the identity of the author of this poem.



The colophon of my manuscript gives his name as Dinanath and this is borne out by author's reference to himself in verse 1172. It is however admittedly a pen name and his real name is not anywhere disclosed. At the time of purchasing the manuscript, I was told that he was one Parmanand of Martanda who was said to have died in 1822 A.D. at the age of sixty eight years. On the other hand I have since been assured that Parmanand was not the author of this work and that he died some thirty years ago or just when I was purchasing the manuscript, at the age of about eighty years, his pen name being Nandarama. It is possible that there may have been two Parmanands for it is manifest that if both the accounts are correct they can not refer to the same person. Another Kashmiri friend has lately written to me that the author was Prakashram of Kurigam in Anantnag *tehsil* of Kashmir. He is said to have died about the year 1870 at the age approximately of sixty five years and to have been same person as Divakara Prakasa Bhatta, the author of *Sri Ramavtaracarita*. On the other hand I have been assured that this very Divakara Prakasa Bhatta was alive during the eight years of reign of Hindu king Sukhjivanasimha who came to throne in 1786 A.D. According to this account Divakara lived in *Gojwara* (Sanskrit *Gulikavatika*) quarter of Srinagar. In the face of all these mutually inconsistent traditions it is impossible to make any definite statement regarding the author of the poem, save that his pen name was Dinanath. His identification must be left as a task to future inquirers"

The evaluation of metres used in this work was however left by Grierson to which question he proposed to deal further in his forthcoming edition of *Ramavataracarita*. After the work was published Grierson wrote to Nityanand on July 28, 1928: "You very kindly gave me much help in the preparation of my edition of the *Sri Krisnavataralilla* and now I have much pleasure in sending you a copy of it. I hope that you will like it and let me know that you received



it safely".

It was the time when Grierson had again taken ill but his courtesy and deep sense of gratefulness to acknowledge Nityanand's help in the edition of *Sri Krisnavataralilla* was not in any manner stalled by his illness. He was keen and prompt to record his appreciation for the Kashmiri scholar's help in the edition of the critical text. Unable to write himself, Grierson asked his assistant, Ernest H. Hall, to send a letter to Nityanand. October 11, 1928, Hall wrote to Nityanand. "Sir George Grierson is, I regret to say, ill and cannot write. He has asked me to thank you for your letter of September 12 and to say that he is glad you liked the edition of *Sri Krisnavataralilla*. I enclose a short certificate which he has signed as he is sorry that he cannot write a longer one".

The testimony reads, "I have great pleasure in recording my gratitude to Pandit Nityanand Shastri for the valuable help that he has many times given me when I have been editing or translating texts in Kashmiri. I owe much to his learning whether in Sanskrit or old Kashmiri and the clearness of his explanation has often enabled me to solve difficulties that have confronted me in these texts. I hope that many years of prosperity and learned usefulness is still before him". The document signed by Grierson indicated the slight of his titles O.M., K.C.I.E.

The temporary ailment did not deter the determined linguist to give his scholarly treatment to other Kashmiri texts on which he had been spending his much fruitful labours. Any progress in these matters was also communicated to Stein, his best European friend in Kashmir. Stein and Nityanand too remained in constant communication about the developments in the weave of these pursuits. Stein sent a letter to Nityanand. "May Sri Nityanand Shastri adoned by all good qualities and endowed with wisdom decorated by *Sadvidya* accept this request of Sir Aurel Stein. It is to be known that my eyes



get filled with joy by getting your letter. Though the union was possible at the base of mountain I expect our meeting depending on the time and opportunity undoubtedly. I too got a letter from Sir George Grierson in which the news informed by you is referred to. You should put the possible efforts in explaining the two works so as the confidence in your job may be sustained. I duly thought already that the consideration of the ancient wooden inscription would be more difficult. The examination of the results of the efforts would be proper at the time of meeting. May Goddess *Sharada* protect you with your family from all sins both natural and caused by humans”.

During the decade of 1921 to 1930 Grierson was deeply involved in the work connected with publication of Kashmiri texts. Even when some of these were since published in the course of this decade the inquisitive linguistic callings of his mind kept him occupied to clear even the minutest doubts and explanations in Kashmiri language. The steady trail of his letters to Nityanand kept on coming and true the latter always came to the aid of his “baffled unaided knowledge of Kashmiri idiom and meaning” that confronted him in Kashmiri texts. December 11, 1928, Grierson wrote to Nityanand: “Can you very kindly help me about a Kashmiri word? In verse 652 on page 196 of the *Siva Parinaya* of which I sent you a copy, we have *ithya zahir zamadha taph karun pyous*. In this what is the meaning of *zamadha*? The *Chaya* says the meaning of *zahir zamadha* is *lokachari darshanaratham*. The word *zamadha* seems to be Persian but I can not find it in any Persian dictionary. Is it mistake for some other word? If you can help me I shall be much obliged. I shall be sending you soon a book I have written about the language of *Mahanayaprakasa* which may interest you”. There was no query unanswered that Grierson placed before Nityanand. The ‘scholar of scholars’ placed all the resources of his great learning at the former’s disposal. February 19, 1929.



"Very many thanks for your letter of January 16 about *zahir zamadha*. It has quite solved my difficulty. It was very good of you to take so much trouble. As soon as my book about the *Mahanayaprakasa* is published I shall send you a copy".

Grierson had many points of doubts on the geographical locations of places indicated in these Kashmiri texts. In order to analyse the textual content of these works with historical authenticity, it was necessary for him to link the legend to the fact of geography. Whenever such queries arose Grierson placed these before Nityanand and always sure that the masterly explanations of the latter would solve his difficulties. One such query that Grierson placed before Nityanand was in the context of *Sri Ramavataracarita*. June 4, 1929, Grierson wrote to Nityanand: "Many thanks for your letter of May 13 giving me information about *Kurigam* and *Shankarpur*. It is very interesting. I am sending you my book about *Mahanayaprakasa* by this mail and hope that you will like it".

During his short stay at Kashmir in the year 1893, Grierson often heard of the existence of *Ramayana* in Kashmiri language but failed to obtain a copy. He, however, ascertained that the name of author Divakar Prakash Bhat was well known and who was alive during the regime of Sukhjivana who came to throne in 1786. So far as Grierson could make out in 1893, the Kashmiri *Ramayana* existed in fragments and no entire copy of the epic was known to be existent then. He took the assistance of Pandit Mukandram to endeavour to collect fragments and from them piece together a complete copy of the whole as was possible. Pandit Mukandram was fortunate enough to procure several long sections and from them the text of the full poem was compiled.

In the year 1910, an edition of the poem similarly pieced together from scattered fragments, was published in the Persian character by the Pratap Steam Press in Srinagar. It,



however, differed from the text on which Grierson deliberated. After the text had been carefully compiled and collated by Pandit Mukandram it was copied by him with a *Chaya* in Sanskrit similar to that provided by him for Krishna Rajanaka's poem *Siva Parinaya*. Grierson did not print the *Chaya* as he contented himself with offering the text alone as practically every word of it was explained in the Kashmiri Dictionary. There, however, remained a doubt as to whether the text was correct representation of the original poem as it came from the author's pen or not. It was at least a specimen of the purest Kashmiri as spoken by Kashmiri Pandits in Srinagar. The language of the poem is the modern Kashmiri described in the usual grammar. In the course of editing this work, Grierson encountered almost similar difficulties while he was editing earlier other Kashmiri texts.

The metre of the poem was in doubt. He was unable to correlate the modern day geography of places around which the narrative of work was woven besides the explanations to the legends in it. Yet again he placed his problems to Nityanand's discerning knowledge of Kashmir and Kashmiri language and got answers to all points of his doubt. With Nityanand's help he even determined the nature of metres in the poem. While describing the metres in Kashmiri *Ramayana*, Grierson analysed two patterns, one the *Bahre-i-Hazaj* and the other depending entirely on stress accent. As numerous songs and pieces of narrative needed scansion, that depended entirely on stress accent, Grierson not well equipped himself to identify, got these "marked for him by Pandit Nityanand Shastri, Head of the S.P. College in Srinagar". In the textual analysis, Grierson was confronted by doubts about the geographical certainty of places described in the poem. Elaborating on verses 1692 to 1723, Grierson made the following text "Valmiki goes to Sita and asks her to come with him. She is not unwilling. If she returns to Ayodhya unaccompanied by Rama, people



will say that she came uninvited. But she is in dilemma that if she does not go, Valmiki will curse her. She does ultimately go to Ayodhya with Satruganah and Valmiki. Rama is pleased at seeing her and she falls at his feet and asks what he wants. She asks for his pardon for her previous refusal. He tells her that she will be absolved if she swears to her purity before the assembled *Rsis*. She prays to Narayana to prove her purity before, by sending her back to the place whence she came i.e. the earth. The ground splits open and the earth taking a visible form emerges and approaches Sita. She proclaims Sita's chastity and calls upon her to abandon her life here and to return to her own abode. Sita mounts the throne on which the earth is seated and descends with her into the abyss. Rama sorrows. The God's shower flowers from heaven. Ever since then the *Trimurti* (Brahma, Vishnu and Siva) have been searching for the place where Sita disappeared. They searched in the hell, in the sky and at every place where they see brilliant light. They ask the *Rsi* Valmiki and he tells them that it is in *Sankarapor* that she descended."

In determining the explanation of this legend connected to the topography of Kashmir, Grierson took help of Nityanand. He wrote, "Professor Nityanand Shastri informs me that Kurigam is in the Kulgam *tehsil* of Kashmir and is about forty miles from Srinagar. *Shenkarapor* i.e. *Samkarapura* is about four miles distant from Kurigam and is in the Anantnag *tehsil*. *Shenkarapor* possesses a sacred spring and was formally inhabited only by Brhamans with a reputation for sanctity but is now inhabited entirely by Moslems, though Hindus visit the spring for religious bathing". Equipped with such exact help in the edition of this Kashmiri text, the *Sri Ramavatacarita* along with *Lavakushacarita*, Grierson got same published through Asiatic Society, Bengal in the year 1930.

While the texts kept on coming out from the press one after the other, Grierson's appetite to assimilate all that



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# THE KĀSHMĪRĪ RĀMĀYANA

COMPRISING THE

ŚRĪRĀMĀVATĀRACARITA

AND THE

LAVAKUSAYUDDHACARITA

OF

DIVĀKARA PRAKĀSA BHATTA.

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF THE POEM  
IN ENGLISH BY

SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D.,  
*Vāgīśa, Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

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Coverpage of the *Kashmiri Ramayana* by Divakar Prakash Bhat.  
Edited by Sir George Grierson, 1930 A.D.



was described in these Kashmiri works remained unwhetted. He wanted to know the meaning of every single word both in reference and context of the subject. August 10, 1930, in a letter to Nityanand, Grierson wrote. "I shall be much obliged if you will kindly tell me the meaning of the word *indrakhi*. It occurs in two places in *Siva Parinaya*. In verse 98 (page 38), *Javala Devi* is said to be *indrakhi rupa* and in verse 1513, page 462 *indrakhi* is a name of *Sharika Devi*. I cannot find the name in any other book or in the *Devisahasranama*. Does it mean that *Devi* is *Sahsaranayana* like *Indra*. If you can help me about this I shall be greatly obliged. I hope that you are in good health and that you have safely received the copy of Kashmiri *Ramayana* that I sent you some time ago. I am not well now-a-days and find it difficult to do much work as I am nearly eighty years old. I cannot see with my eyes. But I still read all that I can about Kashmir".

Like Stein, Grierson also had fallen in love with the land of the learned. Despite his physical infirmities and advanced age, his love for Kashmir, respect for its scholars and flair to learn more of its language and about its literature remained unabated. With his attainments he was already a legend. September 1930, Nityanand wrote to Grierson all that he could explain to him about *indrakhi*. He also informed him of his own superannuation he had attained from the Sri Pratap College. It was a well earned rest from mundane of teaching for Nityanand. He was, however, determined to go miles on the scholarly path. October 21, 1930, Grierson wrote to Nityanand. "Very many thanks for your letter of September 28 and for your full explanation you have been kind enough to give me about *indrakhi*. I am glad to find that I interpreted the word correctly. I hope that you are well. I see that you have retired from S.P. College and I hope that you will now have the leisure which you have so well earned. I hope I have addressed the letter correctly as I do not know your



new address. Thanks also for the news about Sir Aurel Stein. I had not heard from him for a long time. I am fairly well but cannot do much reading now-a-days as I am losing the sight of one of my eyes and have to be careful with the other. With kind regards believe me yours very sincerely".

Grierson had made the imprints of his attainments on the horizon that was dotted with unparalleled scholarship and Nityanand had earned the respect of this linguistic icon. As Grierson located Nityanand by his private address following his retirement from the Maharaja's college, it was a strange reminder of scholarly exchange of letters when two decades earlier, Nityanand had hoped to locate Sten Konow in Norway, after his departure from Kashmir in almost similar circumstances. For the Saints of indology their names were also their whereabouts.

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10. Letter dated December 17, 1924, Surrey, Camberley, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.



11. Letter dated October 21, 1930, Surrey, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
12. Letter dated August 10, 1930, Surrey, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
13. Letter dated June 4, 1929, Surrey, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
14. Undated letter by Sir Aurel Stein to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
15. Letter dated December 11, 1928, Surrey, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
16. Letter dated February 19, 1929, Camberley, Rathfarnham, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
17. Letter dated July 28, 1928, Camberley, Rathfarnham, Surrey, England by Sir George Grierson to Professor Nityanand Shastri.
18. Letter dated October 11, 1928 by Ernest Hall to Pandit Nityanand Shastri.
19. Testimonial dated October 11, 1928 by Sir George Grierson.
20. Siva Parinayah – A Poem in the Kashmiri Language by Krisna Rajanaka (Razdan) edited by Sir George Grierson. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1914-1925.
21. Bibliotheca Indica – Work No. 253, Issue No. 1509, New Series, The Kashmiri Ramayana, Comprising Sri Ramavataracarita & The Lavakusayuddhacarita by Divakara Prakash Bhat edited by Sir George Grierson. Baptist Mission Press, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1930.
22. Bibliotheca Indica, Work No. 247, Issue No. 1501, New Series, Sri Krisnavataralilla, composed in Kashmiri by Dinanatha. Text edited by Sir George Grierson. Baptist Mission Press, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1928.



## Kashmiri and Sanskrit Translations of Don Quixote

Destiny and ambition had marked Stein for a fulfilment of his life's aim, when he set himself on the course of oriental studies. Towards the beginning of 1900, when Stein shifted to another field of oriental research i.e. Central Asian explorations, he had already become a pivot reference for western scholars.

In and out of his alpine home – Kashmir, Stein spent his time in research. In July 1928, Stein came down to London from Oxford in addition to his usual rounds to the British Museum and India Office. He attended the annual garden party at Buckingham Palace. There he received a cable letter of utmost importance. Langdon Warner had confirmed that he could get funds from people who will give him a free hand for his exploratory pursuits. It had been sent by Charles Rockwell Lanman (1850-1941), a Harvard University Professor, a Sanskritist who had also studied with Von Roth, at Tübingen and who thus was doubly bound in friendship to Stein.

On his onward journey, through the Middle-East, Stein visited the Yale, the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Chicago. It was a critical time in Stein's life, now retired from official duties and having talked and hoped and saved and planned to enjoy freedom to follow his worthy projects that took him to Harvard. Lanman was his intermediary at the Harvard University. His luck was with him. Stein had found a generous patron. Between November 1928 to April 1930 at Harvard, Stein delivered a series of his lectures giving account of his three earlier expeditions in Central Asia under the Lowell Lecture series. It was then he also encountered the friendship of Carl T.



Kellor at Boston. Kellor too was a Harvard scholar. Their friendship blossomed with a mutual intimacy as well. It was in this meeting that seed of unique shift in interface between Kashmiri Pandits and Western scholars was sown..

As usual of Stein, with his true inclination to use every such contact to further and enhance the indological blaze, he spared no occasion or opportunity to help his colleague scholars and friends. For this he stood committed to the end by the dictates of his own calling.

May 24, 1892. "I hear from Roth very rarely but it is probably my fault for not having time to correspond about things that interest him. I can not indulge in *Vedic* and *Avesta* studies and must restrict myself to helping colleagues and patrons in Europe by procuring manuscripts and other materials when opportunities arise. I have done this quite often. For example, for Burkhardt in Vienna, who is working on Kashmiri language, a study for which I could never spare the time".

Kellor too had informed Stein of his commitment and interest in securing various translations in many languages of the famous Spanish novel *Don Quixote*. And of course Stein given his methods to help his European and American colleagues and friends would not lack in his judgement and efforts to satisfy the desire of his scholar friends. Kellor had desired the Kashmiri and Sanskrit translation of *Don Quixote*, the ones which were not in his collection till then. *Don Quixote* is a Spanish novel, the first modern novel in the world created out of life of disillusion, privation and poverty by maimed ex-soldier named Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. It is a two-part novel, the first part published in 1605 and the second part appeared ten years later in 1615. It is a novel written by an ex-soldier, who survived the glorious Spanish victory and whose noble nature and gentle sense of humorous tolerance taught him that life is an unending dialogue between the spirit of lord who is for ever striving to soar higher and higher and a squire who



clings to his master and strives with might and main to keep his master's feet firmly planted on the ground. *Don Quixote* is one of those rare novels in which both hero and author are so closely related to one another that it is not possible to study them apart. *Don Quixote* is also the reflection of a man 'Cervantes'. It is the epic tale of *Don Quixote* (hero by the same name) of *La Mancha* and his faithful squire *Sancho Panza*. The picaresque adventures in the world of sixteenth century Spain form the basis of one of the great treasures of western literature. The book is both an immortal satire on outdated chivalric code and setting portrayal of an age in which nobility can be only form of madness. It is imbued with superb comedy and irony. *Don Quixote* also stands testimony to its author Cervantes' rich artistry.

It is irony of fate of which Cervantes had no complaint for lack of abundance and more abundance of his misfortune that the idea of writing *Don Quixote* came to him while he was imprisoned in Seville Jail, Spain in 1597. However later while living in Vallodeled at the beginning of 1603, he was busy writing the first part of *Don Quixote*. It appeared in 1605. Within six months of the book's appearance *Don Quixote* and its Squire, *Sancho Panza* were celebrated all over Spain and even their names were used as nicknames in Spanish society. Their fame spread across the oceans and both *Don* and *Sancho* became famous throughout the world. The appeal of these characters was so strong that readers throughout the world desired the title of book be '*Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*' instead of *Don Quixote* alone. For they said, *Sancho* is "worth as much as the master and comforts even more". *Don Quixote* is a work firstly as a satire on romantic chivalry but also charged through and through with irony. Although it is a work two centuries later to Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, it still retains its significant content of chivalry. In spite of national and international success of Part I of *Don Quixote*,



ten years were to elapse before Cervantes produced Part II. The book became a celebrated work and so well appreciated and read by people of all sorts throughout the world. It is well believed that no Lord's antechamber in Europe was without its copy. However it is a tragic literary truth that no official recognition was given to its author, Miguel Cervantes, by literary bigwigs, academic clerics and Pundits in literary circles of Spain, 'the *Ceracles*'.

Perhaps two reasons can be attributed. One, the envy of highly rated comments about the work and, second, the fame book attained both in Spain and abroad. Both the parts of the epic book are cut in similar manner even though they appeared ten years apart. Yet one cannot look for birds of this year in the nests of the yesteryears. The book is an excellent account showing the manner in which *Don* matured in mind no less than his creator and as for *Sancho* he grows in wisdom and judgment owing to his continuous dialogue with his master. *Don Quixote's* reputation as a book of immortal status assumes its premise as the first great modern literature to define clearly the conflict between reality and fantasy. The book has 126 chapters split in 52 chapters in part I and 74 in part II.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was born in Spain on October 9, 1547 in an influential family but who had subsequently fallen on hard times. His father was a poor surgeon who wandered up and down in Spain for search of work. Cervantes had his early education in Seville and grew to follow a career as soldier. During Spanish war from 1571 to 1580, he was wounded and captured by Turks in 1575 and imprisoned for five years only to be freed in 1580 but by that time his family was further impoverished. He had a mother, two sisters and illegitimate daughter to support. He settled for a literary career and hoped to become a successful playwright. But it did not bring him an escape from poverty which finally led to his bankruptcy and jail term of fifteen years. Although he never knew



prosperity but Cervantes did gain an ample measure of fame in his lifetime following publication of *Don Quixote*. The work was published in two parts, first appeared in 1605 and second in 1615. His other famous works are *Exemplary Novels*, *Journey to Parnassus*, and *Eight Plays and Eight Interludes*.

Cervantes was a soldier by profession and would have never become a writer had it not been for his misfortunes which compelled him to write for money. Cervantes was a brave soldier and a great personality long before he became famed as author of *Don Quixote*. In this respect, he represents contrast to Shakespeare whom in other respect, he resembled for his broad vision of humanity, toleration and profoundly ironic vision of life. It is interesting to note that if neither of them would have written, Shakespeare may have become a third rate actor or a successful manager of a theatre, but Cervantes had never written a line, he would still have seemed a remarkable man and a notable personality. Before he wrote of 'life', he had spent best years in learning the lessons of life. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra entered the world with same hardship of poverty as many other great literary figures such as Shakespeare, Dickens and Bernard Shaw and in whom privations of early life and inherited sadness acted as spur to their literary ambitions. A youth of adversity and sorrow tempered his character and he was possessed by two powerful forces, one his realistic sense with which he saw life and ability to romanticise what he saw or experienced. Cervantes was the fourth child of his parents and baptised on October 9, 1547. It was not only his share of sorrow and sufferings that tempered his character but also the misfortune of his poor parents. Cervantes wrote his first verse at the age of twenty one in commemoration of death of Philip II's third wife Isabel. As young Cervantes was on road to success, he was involved in a small quarrel within the precincts of royal palace. The court ordered a



penalty of ten years in exile and his right hand be severed. There was no remedy but to flee and in the process enrolled for military engagement against Turkey. He was imprisoned in 1575 and before that also wounded in left hand and chest, while fighting in Naples. He was taken as captive and sent to prison in Algiers. It was a better school, of whose experience engraved his memory so much that reflection of those appeared in most of his works like '*The Spanish Gallant*', '*The Bagnios of Algiers*', '*The Great Sultana*' and '*The Traffic of Algiers*'. On his return from captivity, Cervantes believed liberty and honour as the most precious gifts of heaven to mankind and no treasure can be compared to it. He believed that for liberty and honour, man ought to stake even his life. Captivity gave him also the virtue of patience and that is how he bore the years from 33 to 58 which for most men are full of achievements but they brought nothing to Cervantes except failure and blighting of all hope. Yet from their experience, he created his own spiritual autobiography in '*Don Quixote*'. Cervantes married in 1584, a girl of 19 years when he was 37 years. Her name was Catlina Salazar. This obligation brought him further financial miseries. He struggled till 1590 to get a paid job. Cervantes made mistakes of believing his friends and landed in trouble as guarantor to payments of government accounts he failed to meet and landed in jail again in 1597. Miguel Cervantes best philosophised his life's misfortune as it comes in Part II of *Don Quixote* from *Sancho*. "Even though one may have stronger titles to fame and prosperity, mortals are subject to good and bad fortune and one can be unhappy".

Cervantes was completely devoid of that unconscious jealousy that most writers feel lest their character may cause the reader to forget the artist who created them. He breathed life in his characters but left them to their own devices, and in the process so completely did he eclipse himself behind *Don Quixote* that the world lost sight of



Cervantes. Cervantes was poor even to his last. He was affected by a disease called dropsy and before his end poetically murmured: "Death is dropsical and great thirst desires it to drink the lives of all that live". Unlike Andre Gide, the modern *Masih* of West, who said he felt so desired to pursue happiness as if he was born to follow nothing else. Cervantes' 'desire to drink' on contracting dropsy and quenching his thirst, seemed to him so strong as though he was not born to do anything else. It was the spring air of April 1616 that brought death to this genius on Saturday, April 23rd and in his death he met Shakespeare, his only peer, who far away in England also died on same 23rd April 1616. To quote J.B. Priestley, "Probably only Shakespeare has captured and delighted more minds than Cervantes and by strangest chance they died the same day".

Quickly Stein's thoughts had travelled to Kashmir. His mind began to draw the plans. The older genre of Kashmir scholars like Damodar, Sahaz Bhat, Govind Kaul and Mukandram were gone. Stein's most important link towards this end was now Nityanand. If Stein was the pivot reference for western scholars, Nityanand was same for Stein in Kashmir.

It was this impression that Stein etched on the mind of Kellor, when the two discussed about the possibility of securing Kashmiri and Sanskrit translation of the Spanish classic. Anxious to secure these translations, Kellor had now hoped to obtain it from Nityanand's hand.

The execution of plans had to wait till Stein returned yet again to his alpine home in Kashmir after having delivered his six lectures at the Lowell Institute, Harvard University of his Central Asian explorations in August 1929. The interaction led to Harvard's unabated desire to now acquire examples of Chinese arts through Stein's endeavours. During the spring and summer of 1929, further plans took shape. In this arrangement Stein was to give



another series of ten lectures between 5th and 20th December and receive the financial grant to lead an expedition for Harvard to Central Asia. Professor P.W. Sachs, Director, Fogg Art Museum of Harvard, was able to secure the needed sum of dollars twenty thousand for Stein's future expeditions in China, Persia or elsewhere in Asia. During the course of Stein's journey to America, Nityanand kept on corresponding with him. He informed him of his own retirement from the post of professorship at the Maharaja's College in Srinagar which had however followed by his reappointment in the cause of Sanskrit learning and scholarship. On his return journey to England, while passing through Italy, Stein replied to Nityanand on board *The Cunard, RMS Andania*.

January 14, 1930. "May Sri Nityanand Shastri, a great scholar of Kashmir, accept this letter of Sir Aurel Stein. My heart was filled with joy when I received a letter from you and noted the good news there. But delay was made in replying to that as I was in long journey in America. You kindly forgive that considering many works I have. I am very glad to hear the news of your being reappointed in the post at the *Mahapadasala*. The regulation made by the Sri Maharaja in that regard is appreciable by all means. As per your wish, I sent acknowledgments of gratitude to Mr. Wakefield. I am keeping well by the grace of the '*Bhavya*'. Now I entered into the great kingdom of England after fulfilling my work in America. I am writing this letter while travelling over the ocean. I wish my return to Kashmir in the month of May by the grace of *Sri Devi*. May *Sri Sharada* protect and nourish you with your children. I request you to convey my *svastivadas* to the sons of late Pandit Sahajabhattachavara".

Back in Mohand Marg, June, 1930, Stein was finishing his preparations for an expedition that was to leave Srinagar on August 11, 1930. Five and half months later and after a two thousand mile march into Chinese Turkistan



around the Tarim Basin after having endured harassment, his passport recalled and prohibited from doing any further digging, Stein deposited the antiquities at the Chinese Consulate as he was prevented to carry them outside China pending a decision by the Chinese authority as to their final disposal. He brought back only the photographs of all the manuscripts and wooden tablets unearthed. Stein accepted the inevitable and decided to return to India.

He was again on his beloved Mohand Marg in the summer of 1931 with its view of mountains, mighty and immutable. It restored his well-being. He was pleasantly occupied with revising and completing his Lowell lectures for a small book – ‘*On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*’ – a task that eased the failure that had marked his fourth expedition.

While Stein was camped at his beloved spot Mohand Marg, peace in Srinagar was fractured. A riot took place resulting in wanton loot and arson. Nityanand informed Stein about the unhappy turn of these events. In spite of being exceedingly busy with the work on hand, Stein sent a letter to him on August 9, 1931.

“Please forgive if I thank you but briefly at this time in English for your kind letter. I am kept exceedingly busy with work of all sorts and cannot find time to write as I should like. I wish you had been able to give me better news than those about the serious outbreak in the city. You know that my sympathy is fully with those who have been so wantonly attacked and injured. I know enough of the history of Kashmir to have realized long ago that tame as the people apparently are in ordinary times, trouble may always arise if there is any sign of weakness about. I hope that now the order has been enforced. I hope it will be maintained with a strong hand and needless fears will cease. The appointment of Raja Hari Kishan Kaul as the Prime Minister is certainly encouraging. I have known him and his family for a long time as deserving full confidence. By the time I come down to the valley, I hope to have the



pleasure of seeing you more than once for a good talk. I may then perhaps be less pressed for time than I am at present".

Hurrying a letter in English to Nityanand was never relished by Stein. He always desired to correspond with him in Sanskrit. The two were closer to each other's feelings when correspondence was in sacred Sanskrit. During the years 1931 and 1932 both had many occasions to meet one to one. During some of the long meetings Stein had with Nityanand, he told him about the desirability of translation of *Don Quixote*. If the beginning had been made, the destiny had not willed it to be then, Nityanand was struck by paralysis in early 1932. The desired work on *Don Quixote* had to wait to begin but it never left Stein's mind and his hope that it was possible to achieve.

Stein kept his steady progress in the field of archaeological explorations in Persia and Iran and hope of his future tryst in Afghanistan. While Nityanand marched steadily on road to recovery from paralysis, throughout Stein remained concerned for the restoration of his health. He lost no opportunity to make enquiries on this account from wherever he was.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, September 7, 1932. Stein wrote to Nityanand. "I am very glad to receive your letter of 22nd July and to be assured by it that you are keeping good health. It reached me during my absence on a short holiday and as I was very busy with writing work then too, I could not answer it immediately. May you kindly excuse this and also that for the sake of saving time I do not answer it in Sanskrit. I am to leave England on my return to Persia three weeks hence and am therefore kept exceedingly busy with preparations of all sorts and also with getting a new book of mine through the press. I have seen Sir George Grierson and was very glad to see that he was keeping again in fair health in spite of his great age. I shall try to see him again before leaving for Persia and



shall then deliver to him your greetings. As to myself, there may be a chance of returning to Kashmir for next summer. But this must depend on the course of my labours in Persia. With kind regards and all good wishes”.

The Persian expedition yielded favourable results. Nityanand kept on informing Stein of his steady recovery while the latter was amidst the past ruins of Persia. March 21, 1935. Stein was in Siracusa, Italy, on a short visit there. He wrote to Nityanand: “I received your letter written on 13th of last month. I got it while I was making a journey in Stalsunder. The news of your being safe by the grace of *Sharada*, made me more relieved. I always wish that the grace of *Uttamesavara* may keep you in perfect health soon. I hope to see you in good health when I come over to Kashmir by the end of this *Magha* month. Your stay at *Jambupura* may improve your physical health. I opine that your son’s assistance should be extended as far as possible to me, when I return to Kashmir. I know it well though staying away the results of this type of attempt. Though I am busy with many things, my health is in good condition by the grace of *Isvara*. May that *Sharada* look after you well”.

In the summer of 1935, Stein was yet again back in Kashmir. Nityanand was showing considerable recovery from paralysis and this Stein had learnt from his son, Gopinath.

July 5, 1935, Stein wrote to Gopinath. “Thanks for your letter from which I was very glad to learn that your dear father’s health was improving. May *Sharada Devi* help him to complete recovery. It gave me great pleasure to receive a good report of his health also from Dr. Macpherson’s mouth when he came here recently. Please give my very best wishes to your father who is always in my thoughts”.

As Nityanand was always in Stein’s thoughts, so too was the hope for the translation of *Don Quixote*. After six years when Kellor had first desired for translation and



Nityanand now having recovered from his ailment to a large extent, Stein saw the possibility on the horizon.

Nagin Bagh, October 16, 1935. Stein wrote to Nityanand. "I am hard pressed by work and must therefore address you by dictating in English. I do so with regard to the translation into Sanskrit and Kashmiri which my friend, Mr. Kellor of Boston is anxious to secure from your scholarly hand. As I told you he has been collecting translations of that famous Spanish novel for many years. But he has not got any in Sanskrit or in Kashmiri. He would like to have different chapters translated into Sanskrit and other selected chapters into Kashmiri. He has sent a copy of an English translation of *Don Quixote*. I have marked in the contents of the two volumes those chapters of which I think a translation would be specially suitable. The book is a classic in Europe and by its humour, would probably make amusing reading for you also. Please look at the book within next few days in order to let me know before I start about in ten days hence for Persia, whether you can undertake the work. I understand from your son that he would be able to take down the translations, as you dictated. In case you should not feel able to undertake the work, please let me know whether you can recommend any competent person to do it. I am very anxious to satisfy my friend in this wish. The translation would be in the end deposited in library of Harvard University, one of the greatest libraries in the world and thus perpetuate your name and your scholarship. If you do not feel equal to undertake the translation, kindly let me have the book back again when you send your reply within next few days. I am at present stopping at Nagin Bagh where I could see you any day when you would care to come out in a boat. I shall probably be away on Friday. With every good wish."

Precise and meticulous with his methods of plan about the study, Stein was anxious for the response. He was aware of the importance of the work, the rich treatment it would





Professor Jagadhar Zadoo;  
b. 1890 d. 1981.

get from the scholarly hand of Nityanand and also the enhanced literary appeal the great European classic would make. All this, yet Stein was not sure if Nityanand could undertake the work. He knew it could be for reasons due to his ill health and not for want of competence. After all what would deter the committed Nityanand. And Stein assured of this assessment was glad when Nityanand accepted the task. He informed Stein that his ill

health was a deterrent for the successful completion of the task and hence would take help of his colleague scholar, Professor Jagadhar Zadoo in the matter. It took some more time before the actual translations were begun and by then Stein was again away in Iran for a short halt amidst his continuing Persian explorations.

Care of, British Consulate, Ahwaz, Iran, January 21, 1936. Stein wrote to Nityanand: "I was greatly pleased to receive the good news that your health is improving and that you have been able to start on the work of translating parts of that famous novel, *Don Quixote* into Sanskrit and Kashmiri. The task when accomplished with the help of Pandit Jagadhar Shastri will be much appreciated and rewarded by Mr. Carl Kellor, my American friend. The translations might be sent direct to him by registered book post". Kellor was then stationed at 80, Federal Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.. Stein even had option for this arrangement. The translations could be sent to him as he wrote, "if you prefer to



Throughout this time Stein was keeping well but very busy amidst much hard work on a difficult ground. However, the progress on the translation of *Don Quixote* was kept well informed to Grierson also. Grierson, a close friend and peer to Stein, was in close rapport on the indulgences each made. Between the two, Nityanand was a common link. Their scholarly pilgrimages had begun four decades earlier. Nityanand did not lack to inform Grierson of his new project, the translation of *Don Quixote*, he had on hand. He also informed him of the sad news of his paralysis. Despite his own advanced age, Grierson wrote to Nityanand. Camberley, April 7, 1936. "It was very good of you to write and tell me news of yourself but I was very sorry indeed to learn that you had been suffering from an attack of paralysis. Thank god you are recovering so well. I pray that soon you will be quite well and vigorous again. I heard from Sir Aurel Stein that you were engaged in translating a book. I forgot what it was. Perhaps it was *Don Quixote*. I hope that this has not been interfered with by your illness and that if it is not yet complete, it will soon be ready for press. It is sure to be good. I have very little news to tell you about myself. I was eighty five years old last January and a number of learned friends joined together and wrote a book which they gave to me on my birthday. It made me very happy to learn that so many friends had kind thoughts about me. Except that nothing has happened to me in the past year or two. At my age I cannot do much and have to live quietly".

Between the years 1935 and 1937, Nityanand and Jagadhar completed the Kashmiri and Sanskrit translations of *Don Quixote*. In March 1937, Stein was in England. Nityanand had sent him a letter enquiring about a small accident that Stein had met. East India, Service Club, St. James Square, London, S.W.1, March 17, 1937. Stein wrote to Nityanand. "I wish to thank you very warmly for your kind letter of February 28 which reached me a couple of



॥५॥ मेन् क्रिषोटेनारम्भात् नवीरभावात् उपमा

भागे मेव नान्तरिक्षात्तमपरिच्छेददर्शनात् ॥

(Cholchay XLV.)

( 'नक्रिषो' ह्येति कोपि तु तीव्रतः प्यक् पुर विमान  
भोस - नैधुयत् - तस्युक् निर्णयः ॥ मय परिच्छेदतः  
मेन् क्रिषोटेन । अयमिति इह केन् नीरसायि हं च  
कथं, अत्र नैधि कति सपत्नीयः । )

— ० —

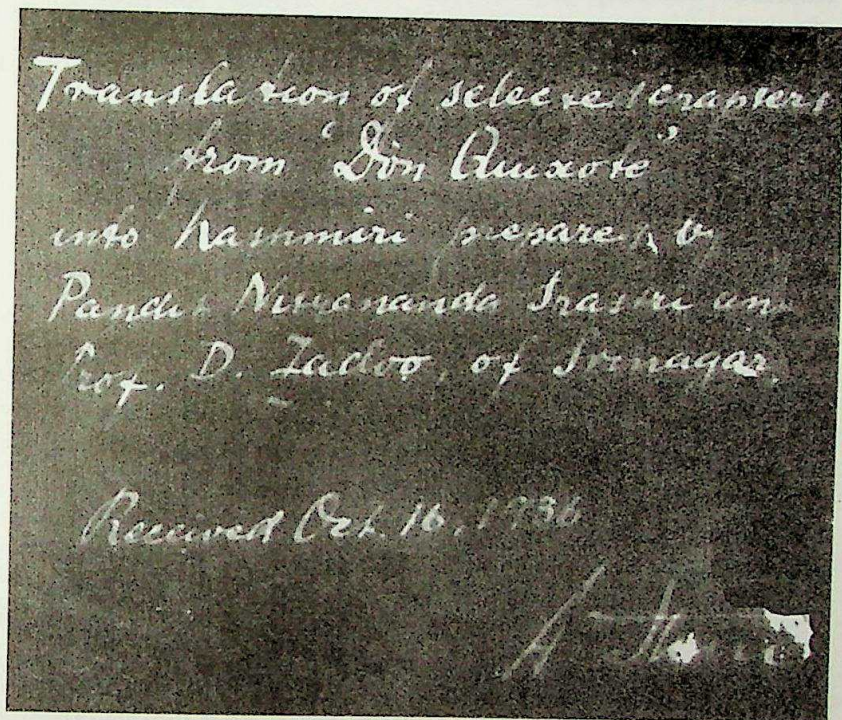
नाविदन् नैधु — कथा कतिपयं वंन्यातक्  
हे छजनक् — छेदन् राय न्या धर् अय प्यक्,  
यि मेष्टा यित प्रीप् इतहात् वलान् वि ।  
यिमः शि सध् कधि प्यक् हव् करान् कि  
यि ॥ न वान्, नैधिमि यि इह कूथ ।  
मेन् क्रिषोटेन वंनुनस् — पुर, कार् वातसा  
मथ कधि बुल्लत् वनि, भाग सु नीर भाति,  
नर समतावन सुह, तैमिह वन नर चैर ध्वत्  
अपुन वनान् । या अगार नीर-सैन्धु साधी  
भाति — तैमिह ति वन चैर ध्वत् अपुन वनान् ।  
अकी फिरि न, सति फिरि ध्वत् अपुन वनान् ।  
अनि वयवत भोह्, होन् नाविन् ति अनि विधी  
तैमिह्, आस आन् क्रिषोटेन् निजादेन् दान्  
पर-नाविन्, विल्लत् मेन् वंनु — मेन् ह्येति मत-



days ago in Vienna. It was very good of you to take such friendly interest in the little accident which befell me. It was really of no serious nature and I was only sorry that a report about it reached the *Times* and other papers in England. Stumbling over a low step which was not visible in poor light, I hurt the tendon over my left knee. But competent surgical treatment was readily at hand and after eight days I could go out and since then this trouble has completely passed. I was very glad to receive from Pandit Zadoo, both the Kashmiri and Sanskrit translations of *Don Quixote* extracts which you had been good enough to arrange for. I acknowledge both from Persia. I also returned the Sanskrit translation to Pandit Zadoo with the request to have it properly written in the old Kashmiri *Devanagari* style. He acknowledged the detailed instruction but up to the present, the desired copy has not yet come to hand. I should be grateful if you would kindly remind Pandit Zadoo about this work. I should be very glad to have the Kashmiri translations carefully printed if you have kept a rough manuscript copy of it. The fair copy is in Mr. Kellor's hand, who would prefer to keep it. Please ascertain whether the printing can be done."

Translations made, neatly packed and parcelled by post Nityanand awaited Stein's acknowledgment of their safe arrival at the destination. Stein was still in London, May 10, 1937. "I wish to thank you very much for your letter of April 27th, which reached me a few days ago followed by your earlier letter of February 16th. This came to me by a great detour via Boston, United States, as it had been enclosed with the Sanskrit translation which had been redirected to my American friend from Oxford under my instructions. I myself was then still absent from England and arranged for the transmission of the packet in order not to delay its receipt. Mr. Kellor was very pleased with the neatly executed manuscripts. Please assure Pandit Jagadhar of my best thanks for all the trouble, he had taken





Photograph showing acknowledgement note annexed to the manuscript of Kashmiri translation of Don Quixote, Boston Copy, 1937 A.D.



about the copying, correction etc. To yourself, I feel very grateful for the great care you had shown in attending to my request. It is a great satisfaction to me to have received this proof of your old friendship. I am greatly pleased to know that you have been able to regain your home in improved health and hope that the pleasant spring of Kashmir will help you towards further recovery. May it be given to me to see you again a year hence in increased strength. I am likely to be kept very busy with work on the results of my Persian explorations, all through the summer and autumn but hope for the needful strength".

Fifteen years earlier Stein played a similar role in securing Sanskrit translation of Kashmiri book, *Mahanayaprakasa* from Nityanand for Grierson, as he now did for Kellor in respect of *Don Quixote*. When translating *Mahanayaprakasa*, Nityanand had lost his father, while translating *Don Quixote* he had lost his health. His keen commitment to the cause of Sanskrit scholarship blessed by *Sharada Devi* had enabled him to achieve the task. Engineered by Stein, it was a unique and significant shift to a unidirectional interface between Kashmiri and Western scholars, when instead of a Kashmiri work being given a Western treatment, a European classic was treated by Kashmiri hands. With these translations the Harvard Library was richer. The Kashmiri scholars joined the select band and the world classic had an enhanced universal appeal.

It is worth to recall that in the present day Spain, two renowned world personalities, one the Nobel laureate, Ernest Hemingway and the other, celebrated Film Director, Orson Welles have two streets named after them. Hemingway celebrated the Spanish tradition of running with the bulls while Welles spent seventeen years trying to convert writer Miguel Cervantes' epic novel *Don Quixote* into a film only to leave it unfinished due to his death. By translating *Don Quixote* into Kashmiri and Sanskrit,



Jagadhar and Nityanand too contributed to the celebration of Spanish pride.

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## Nilamatapurana – The Leiden Edition

"May Sri Nityanand Shastri, who is sanctified by crossing over the ocean of sciences like, *Vyakarana*, *Alamkara* etc., who has sharp intellect mastering the Sanskrit language, who is a friend of wise persons, who has qualities adored by friends, whose form is embellished by several good qualities, who is the crest jewel of Kashmiri scholars, who stands true to his name accept this letter combined with *svasti* from J.Ph. Vogel. It is so many years since I am favoured by your *darsana*. It is aptly said, as a stick and another stick come together in an ocean and depart afterwards, the beings meet and depart. I shall never forget those wonderful days in Kashmir when I studied along with you, the poems and dramas in Sanskrit in the shade of rows of trees in the garden nearby the pond, beautified by fully opened lotuses. When shall I come back to the holy land 'Bharata' by the force of my luck? When shall I see Kashmir, the girdle of Himalaya, the abode of *Devi* in Kashmir (Srinagar), your auspicious face in that city? Thus thinking I have hope everyday. What to write more. It is to be arranged by the Creator. Kindly favour me by sending a letter soon", wrote Vogel to Nityanand from Holland after he had left India.

Their long association of more than ten years in the early decades of last century is best accounted for by the fruits of their joint labour on *Sharada* script and other epigraphical works on the antiquities of Chamba. The two thereafter remained in contact with each other but the trickle of correspondence thinned. More than two decades elapsed when the two were again to revive their old links. Though both had not heard much of each other, but there was little that Vogel had not remembered of his association



with Nityanand. As Vogel was aware of the great scholarly qualities of Nityanand's mind and intellect, he had no hesitation in seeking his help yet again, not any longer for epigraphical studies, but this time it was in regard to Kashmir's 6th century text, the *Nilamatapurana*. Like Stein who would seek all sorts of help from Nityanand for his western colleagues, Vogel too sought Nityanand's help in respect of his pupil K. de Vreese.

It was nearly two decades later to his departure from India, Vogel again wrote to Nityanand. Leiden, August 24, 1932. "It is many years since I had the pleasure of exchanging letters with you. But although you have not heard from me for such a long time, you may be sure that I have not forgotten you. I hope that you are keeping good health. May I venture to trouble you with a request on behalf of one of my pupils, Mr. K. de Vreese who is writing his Doctor's thesis and has selected the *Nilamatapurana* for his subject. You know no doubt the printed edition of this work was brought out by Pandit Ramjilal Kanjilal and J. Zadoo (Lahore 1924). Mr. K. de Vreese who is preparing a new edition and translation of the *Nilamatapurana* is very anxious to consult some manuscripts, mentioned in the preface of Lahore edition in particular, the old *Sharada* manuscript belonging to Pandit Srikantha Rajanaka and the modern *Sharada* manuscript belonging to your good self. We shall feel much obliged by your kindly agreeing to send us the two manuscripts on loan for a few months. They may be sent to my address. In case there is any objection to the manuscripts being sent out of Kashmir, I would request you to be good enough to have an accurate copy of such of them made either in *Nagari* or *Sharada* by a reliable Pandit. I shall be glad to meet the expenses. Hope that you will kindly comply with my request. With best thanks in anticipation".

This revived the old broken link between Nityanand and Vogel. Even though the subject of their collaborative



task had necessitated Vogel to get in contact with Nityanand, Vogel made a friendly note as well. "May I add a personal request, I still retain your photograph which you gave me in the summer of the year 1900, that is thirty two years ago. I should be very glad to have your portrait showing your present appearance". With this epistle Vogel proved the importance of *Nilamatapurana* to the world of scholarship and his own ability and skill to decipher the wealth of Kashmir's *Puranic* text. It was an attempt that no European had made before. The Kashmiri help was at hand. The letter also marked for Vogel, a journey into himself. It defined the emotional track their friendship had made. Bound together by their shared pursuits earlier in Kashmir and Chamba, the revived link was refreshing and stimulating. And necessary too.

Nityanand was quick in responding to the request of his cherished European friend and sent him his reply on 15th October. As it was with the *Rajatarangini* manuscript in 1888, that was divided in three parts between the sons of Pandit Kesavaram, which with great difficulty Stein could lay access on as the owners guarded their parts of talisman with lot of possessiveness to once again have the complete manuscript in hand, the manuscript of *Nilamatapurana* too had almost the similar fate. Its possession also had become a matter of dispute between the sons of the owner, Pandit Rajaram Shastri.

Leiden, November 13, 1932, Vogel wrote again to Nityanand. "Please accept my best thanks for your kind letter dated 15th October and for your promise to send me either an old manuscript of the *Nilamatapurana*, if procurable on loan or a reliable copy of such a manuscript for the use of my pupil K. de Vreese. I am sorry to hear that the manuscript belonging to the late Rajaram Shastri is not available at present owing to dispute among his sons. The manuscript belonging to Sir Aurel Stein to which you refer in your letter has been deposited by the owner



दोनमः शिवाय ओष्ठीनिवांसहृदि देवे देयदे मेव वरम् त्रैलोक्यनाथो गोविन्दो गणेशः  
 रमयाम् पविहिदंशभृच्छ्रीमाद्वयनिर्जनमेजयः पद्मकुशिखं वासुदेवमायुधमनि  
 कात् जमेजय उवाच महाभारतसंयासे नानादिष्टानराधिपाः महाभुगोः सज्जयातुः  
 धितृणां मे महात्मनाम् कथं काशमीरुक्तेराजानायतस्तूकीर्तय पाण्डेयानि गुरोः  
 तसुतः सकृद्यत्नः काशमीरामरुलेव प्रथाने जगनि स्थितम् देवाण्यतः यत्स  
 देवे सयेवरे जगाम साधनयो दुवचमय वलात्स्विनः नत्र तस्माभवपुदुवास्तदेतयित  
 गदशवास्तदेव स्य नरे केन महाभवन ततश्च वास्तदेवेतस्मद्विविनिपातितः अनेनैर  
 त्रीमस्य पत्नी वास्तदेवो भवेत्यत भविष्यत्पुत्राज्यायुतस्तदेव स्य गौरवात् नतः सा  
 स्रष्टवे पुत्रं बालगोविन्दं संलितम् बालभक्त्या दुःसुतेनानीनः को देवेनेवा जमीजय  
 उवाच देशस्य गौरवे वै किमर्थं दिजसमम वास्तदेवो महात्मा यदधि सिवस्तयसि य  
 म देशपायनः यवदेवी उमासैव काशमीरानृत्यपुंगव ग्रामीन्सुतः पूर्णजलसुतस्य स  
 नोदरम् कल्याणं भाप्रभृलियस्य गमननराणि घट्ट अस्मि मन्त्रेन देजाने विषय सुमनोर



in the Bodelian Library at Oxford, as it is said to be the best manuscript of the *Nilamatapurana* existing. Mr. K. de Vreese has been allowed to utilize it for his new edition".

Besides these scholarly queries and replies exchanged, Vogel was generous to touch on the matters of their mutual concern of personal and private lives. "I am very pleased indeed to learn from your letter that you are quite well with the members of your family. Have you any grown-up sons who continue the family tradition by devoting themselves to the study of *Sastras*. I am looking forward to your photograph which you kindly promised to send me. Last summer I had the pleasure of meeting a former pupil of yours, a young Dogra Brahmin, called Mr. Gauri Shanker who is taking his Doctor's degree at Oxford".

It was again ten years past, now, Nityanand was helping Vogel in procuring the manuscript for the edition of *Nilamatapurana*. He had done it for the German scholar Winternitz in 1922 by obtaining the *Mahabharata* manuscripts. What Nityanand did for the critical edition of *Mahabharata* published in Calcutta in 1927, he was repeating a similar service for the Leiden edition of *Nilamatapurana*. By November 1932, Nityanand had successfully sent the manuscript of *Nilamatapurana* to Leiden for Vreese's use. Like the Kashmir *Mahabharata* manuscripts which found their way to Prague, the manuscript of *Nilamatapurana* reached Leiden in Holland.

Leiden, December 20, 1932. Vogel sent another letter to Nityanand. "Please accept my best thanks for your kind letter of 16th November and for the copy of *Sharada* manuscript of *Nilamatapurana* kindly acquired by you for the sake of my pupil Mr. K. de Vreese. We are greatly obliged to you for the trouble taken in this matter. Your previous letter too was duly received. Very many thanks".

It was not a mere coincidence that what Nityanand did for Winternitz at the request of Stein, he was now doing for Vreese at Vogel's request. It was one more well woven



thread in the fabric of interface between Kashmiri and Western scholars whose pattern and designs were well laid by Buhler six decades earlier.

The nostalgia about Kashmir and Kashmiri scholars was deep in Vogel's mind. Having spent large portions of his many years of study in Kashmir during his appointment as Superintendent Archaeology and later as officiating Director General following Marshall's long leave in 1911 when he proceeded to his home in England, Vogel's desire to come to Kashmir lingered in his mind. He hoped for it. He believed if it were not him again, it could be his pupil Vreese, who would instead make a visit to the sacred land of *Sharada*.

"I wonder whether I shall ever have the pleasure of revisiting Kashmir and meeting you again. It does not seem to be likely that this will ever happen. Next month I hope to reach the age of sixty two years. According to the rules prevailing in this country, a university professor has to resign at the age of seventy. Then I shall have the leisure to make a tour in India but shall I have the strength? Possibly my pupil Mr. K. de Vreese will be able to pay a visit to Kashmir and profit from your learning as I did. With kindest greetings and renewed thanks". The contact which the older stalk had established was now appearing to sprout in the new generation of scholars. The pupil, Vreese was being guided by his teacher Vogel and the illustrious teacher was drawing his strength from his friend and teacher, Nityanand.

The progress on the work undertaken by Vreese had a steady course. The necessary referential guidance was steadily coming from Kashmir and the much desired materials on which rested the whole plan of study had since reached in Vreese's hands. The obliged pupil, Vreese, wrote to Nityanand from 39, VanLock, Winhocksengel, Delft, Holland, on December 21, 1932. "I am very glad to inform you that I have received the manuscript of the



39, van Leeuwenhoekstraat,  
Delft (Holland)  
December 21. 1932.

Dear Sir,

I am very glad to inform you that I have received the Manuscript of the Nilamathu you kindly send, on my behalf, to Professor Vogel, whose pupil I am.

I try to thank you very much for the many pains and troubles you have taken to get this Manuscript for me.

May I, however, use this occasion to ask you still another favour?

Professor Vogel writes me that this Manuscript has been copied from another code by a Pandit about sixty years ago. May I, consequently, ask you if you could inform me, who this Pandit was, and which is the code from which he copied it, or where this code is to be found?

I should be very much obliged to you, if you could tell me something about this matter.

Assuring you once again of my sincere gratitude, and thanking you in anticipation for the pains you will still take, I remain

Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

K. de Vreese



*Nilamatapurana*, you kindly send on my behalf to Professor Vogel whose pupil I am. I beg to thank you very much for the many pains and trouble you have taken to get the manuscript for me. May I however use this occasion to ask you still another favour. Professor Vogel writes me that this manuscript has been copied from another *codex* by a Pandit about sixty years ago. May I consequently ask you if you could inform me who this Pandit was and which is the *codex* from which he copied it. Where the *codex* is to be found? I should be very much obliged to you if you could tell me something about the matter. Assuring you once again of my sincere gratitude and thanking you in anticipation for the pains you will still take. I remain dear Sir yours faithfully".

The exchange of letters between Vogel and Nityanand made a steady trail. Nityanand sent Vogel the much desired photograph of his besides informing him about his son's pursuits in a letter dated 24th Janaury 1933. Vogel was happy to have his dear friend's photograph. From Leiden, March 5, 1933, wrote Vogel, "Many thanks for your kind letter dated 24th January and for the accompanying photograph of your good self. I am glad to state that you are looking vigorous and healthy. What you tell me about your family interests me very much. Your sons will no doubt do honour to their father. One of them I am glad to see follows in his father's footsteps and devotes himself to the study of Sanskrit. But I presume the other two know also the sacred language". Vogel kept informing Nityanand of Vreese's steady progress about his edition of the *Nilamatapurana* and yet again expressed his hope that Vreese may visit Kashmir. "My pupil Mr. K. de Vreese is making steady progress with his edition of the *Nilamatapurana* but his educational duties take up much of his time and besides he is not enjoying a very robust health. I do hope some time he may have the privilege of visiting the happy valley and availing himself of your guidance. With kindest



greetings".

It was three years later on May 15, 1936, the Leiden edition of Nilamatapurana appeared in print under the title: *The Nilamata or Teachings of Nila* as a Sanskrit text with critical notes. It was printed by E.J. Brill. Vreese himself was then at Voorburg in Holland. He dedicated the work to Sir Aurel Stein.

According to Vreese "*The Nilamata or Teachings of Nila*, the oldest extant written record which deals with the holy legends regarding the origin of Kashmir and its sacred places and moreover one of the main sources of information used by Kalhana when writing his *Rajatarangini*, was not edited till then in a satisfactory manner." He further opined. "The only existing edition of this work which was published at Lahore in 1924 by Ramlal Kanjilal and Pandit Jagadhar Zadoo, has the great merit of presenting the text for the first time. Printed in full on modern lines, this *edition princep* however though based on collation of several ancient as well as more recent manuscripts, has failed to furnish a critically reliable text of the work. This edition had adopted a principle which by historico-philological point of view was not justified".

Vreese further wrote, "As stated in the preface to their edition, they have entered in the printed text also those verses or parts of verses which Pandit Sahibram while preparing the text for edition about half a century ago added to fill up the lacunae in the manuscript known to him and which consequently are established spurious. Secondly in many instances they have made among various readings of the manuscripts, they consulted, a selection too subjective and arbitrary from a lack of critical judgment owing both to an insufficient study of the linguistic and grammatical characteristics of the original and to a not very accurate collation of the codices and their paleographical features. Finally the account they gave in the preface of the manuscripts examined by them in



establishing the text, is not sufficiently detailed nor does the *apparatus criticus* afford a clear insight into the state of the manuscript tradition. The various shortcomings which appear throughout the Lahore edition and detract in no small degree from its scientific value and usefulness for critical and philological research are mainly due to these causes.

In the written tradition of Kashmiri textual criticism being together with linguistic and philological research, the indispensable means to the reconstruction of text meets in a higher degree than elsewhere with special difficulties. In Kashmir to a greater extent than in India proper, the Pandit has little respect for the sacredness of the ancient records and does not scruple to alter them, for some purpose or other in an unsparing manner. Nowhere in India this practice of restoring or cooking Sanskrit texts as has been pointed out by Professor Buhler in his well known Report, is so commonly used, as in Kashmir.

The manuscript tradition of the *Nilamata* too has been deteriorated and corrupted in consequence of this uncritical and unscientific system. About the middle of the last century, Pandit Sahibram received orders from the then Maharaja of Kashmir Ranbir Singh to prepare a trustworthy copy of *Nilamata* for edition. As the Pandit found that all the available manuscripts were lacunary in the beginning and as he gathered from the remaining fragments as well as from the corresponding passages of the *Rajatarangini* and other materials he had at his disposal, what the lost portions did not contain, he restored the whole work to the best of his ability. If Professor Buhler on his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts had not come to Kashmir soon after Sahibram's death, the genuine redaction of the work would certainly have disappeared as the local scholars considered Sahibram's copy to be much superior to all others. As however Pandit Sahibram possessed an intimate knowledge of ancient Kashmirian history, the insertions



and additions made by him deserve due consideration as a commentary."

Hence the complete manuscript of the *Nilamata* had to be used with all reserve especially those copies which did not date back more than about a century. The manuscripts which Vreese consulted in constituting the text of his edition in accordance with the above remarks were two different redactions. The earliest copy among the *Sharada* manuscripts of these redactions which Vreese examined, at the same time was the *codex* on which the text of his edition has been mainly based. It was the manuscript which belonged to Sir Aurel Stein and was preserved in the library of Indian Institute at Oxford. This *codex* which beside the *Nilamata* contained the *Nitipaddhati* of Ksemendra and *Tantrakhayayika* of Visnusumaran, consisted of 213 folia of 16th or 17th century paper. The first 64 folia were occupied by the *Nilamata*. The leaves which measured 7 inches in height and 5½ inches in width were written as was the case in most Kashmiri manuscripts whether on birch bark or paper in lines running parallel to narrow sides. The number of lines to the page amounted to 18 and each line comprised about 23 *aksharas*. The *Sharada* character in which the work was written was of an archaic type. The whole volume was bound in leather after the fashion of European books. The colophon attached to the work stated that this copy was written in *Laukika* year 81. According to a notice by Sir Aurel Stein found on the first non-original folia of the volume, the entries by the hand of the annotator indicated to originate from Takade Bhatta Haraka who was proved by Stein as contemporary of Pandit Rajanaka Ratnakantha, the well-known writer of *codex archetypes* of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.

The other *Sharada* manuscript Vreese made use of, measured 10 by 7 inches consisted of 48 folia of 19th century paper. The leaves were written from folio 4 to folio 45. The remaining folia were blank. The pages contained



on the average 25 lines of about 22 *aksaras*. The *codex* comprised of 1457 verses numbered with red ink and was written like Stein's manuscript in lines running parallel to the narrow side in *Sharada* character of a younger type. To the *Sharada* copy of the short recension belonged also a *codex* of the government collection of Calcutta. This manuscript consisted of two parts, both of which were written by same scribe. The first half contained verses 1 to 725 and the second part began from verse 726 to the end. This volume measured  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, contained 80 folia of Kashmir paper with 16 lines to a page. Of this class also belonged the *Sharada* copy that Vreese had acquired from Nityanand. About this manuscript wrote Vreese, "This *Sharada* copy I bought through the kind offices of Professor Vogel from Pandit Nityanand Shastri, retired Professor of Sanskrit in the S.P. College at Srinagar, Kashmir. According to a letter from Professor Nityanand, dated 2nd January 1933, this manuscript was copied about sixty years ago by late Pandit Devakak Vongu and Narayan Vongu from an old manuscript written in *Sharada* characters and no longer available." According to Vreese, "Pandit Nityanand got this information from former owner of the manuscript who was a descendant of the family of these two Pandits."

The volume measured about 7 by 5 inches consisted of 63 folia of country made paper and was written as usual in lines running parallel to the narrower side. The number of lines to the page varied from 19 to 26 and the number of *aksharas* in a line from 15 to 18. The *Sharada* character was of modern type. The colophon was dated *Laukika* year 52 and descendants of the copyist were still living in Kashmir then and as the paper and writing were certainly not more than 100 years old, there could be no doubt that the year meant was *Laukika* samvat 4952 i.e. 1876 A.D. This tallied with Nityanand's statement that the *codex* was about sixty years old. The volume bore numerous glosses and explanatory notes.



Acknowledging the great assistance Vreese obtained from various scholars in his edition of *Nilamatapurana*, he wrote, "Among those who have assisted me in preparing the present edition, I must mention in the first place my highly esteemed teacher, my *guru* in the study of Indian language, literature and art, Professor J.Ph. Vogel of Leiden who guided this work and granted me his valuable advice in all questions connected with it. I am indebted to him for much information on fundamental and methodical points and for much enlightenment on philological and critical matters. Whenever I appealed to his wide learning, I found him most ready to accord me his valuable support. Moreover I owe him a great debt of gratitude for much kind and willing assistance in my endeavours to obtain the available manuscript for collation and for the great pains he took to make the publication of this work possible. I gladly take this opportunity to thank him publicly for the unflagging zeal which he has always shown in rendering me his indispensable help. I must record my sincere thanks to Sir Aurel Stein KCIE, Ph.D., through whose kind offices the manuscript of Oxford Library was loaned to me for an indefinite period by Indian Institute at Oxford. Let me also record my sincere gratitude to that distinguished scholar for kindly allowing me to dedicate this work to him. My thanks are also due to Pandit Nityanand Shastri, retired Professor of Sanskrit in the S.P. College at Srinagar, Kashmir who kindly procured for me the manuscript marked 'k' and its commentary. I thank him for the valuable information I received from him in connection with that manuscript.

To Mr. Johan Van Manen, General Secretary of Asiatic Society of Bengal, I must offer my grateful acknowledgment for his valuable assistance. I owe a similar debt of gratitude to the Librarian of India Office, London. I am also indebted to Dr.L. D. Barnett, Keeper of Oriental Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, who during a short stay



there enabled me to inspect the copy of the *Nilamata* preserved in that library. I lastly thank the Directorate of the Royal Library in Hague in particular Miss Timmer, Ph.D., who took much trouble in procuring for me the many materials I needed in preparing this edition. The issue of this edition would have been impossible without the support rendered to me by them for having assisted me in carrying out this task and who thereby have contributed in no small degree to render this work less imperfect."

The Leiden edition of *Nilamatapurana* was before the world. To Vreese, however, it was not an end of the study on this extant Kashmiri text. Like Stein who gave three movements to the motif of *Rajatarangini*, Vreese too followed a similar course for the *Nilamatapurana*. He was preparing for another edition of it, the annotated translation. But whatever had to appear on this track, Stein's footprints were invariable and essential. Every happening in the interface had Stein's hand. And Stein was ever quick to take steps that always led him to Nityanand. Whatever the features of interface emerged, Stein was always at the centre of developments. Wherever Stein was, he was always in constant communication with Nityanand. From London, March 17, 1937, Stein wrote to Nityanand: "There is another request. Dr. Vreese, a pupil of Professor Vogel, has bought out, a careful critical edition of the *Nilamata*. He is preparing to bring out a complete translation but would like to secure for the notes exact information about the rites, customs etc. mentioned in the text and still known in Kashmir. Could you kindly let me know about a competent Pandit who could supply such information and can be trusted to do the work in a scholarly way. Of course a suitable reward would be offered for such help. I wish greatly to learn that this letter finds you in improved health so please let me have your reply soon."

Nityanand was still not fully recovered from the attack of paralysis he had suffered a few years back. One more



year passed by but Stein as usual had not lost hope. It was still fresh in his memory what Nityanand had done for Carl Kellor in respect of *Don Quixote*. He was sure that Nityanand would do it for Vreese too. A year later in 1938, back again in Wayil, Kashmir, Stein seized one more opportunity to seek the desired help for Vreese. He had sought it for Grierson, he had sought for Winternitz and he had also sought it for Edgerton. And the 'name' in his mind was none other than Nityanand.

August 17, 1938, Stein wrote to Nityanand: "I was very glad to receive today your letter of the 14th and to learn from it that your health is now good again. By the same *Dak*, there by a curious coincidence, I got also letter from Dr. de Vreese, that excellent Dutch scholar, who as you may know has brought out a thorough critical edition of the *Nilamata*. He had prepared it with the help of oldest *Sharada* manuscript which I acquired many years ago through Pandit Sahajabhata and which is now deposited with my other manuscripts at the Indian Institute at Oxford. Dr. de Vreese is now engaged in preparing an annotated translation of the *Nilamata*. As you can realize, this is very important task and a very difficult one even for a good scholar, far away from Kashmir. I am very anxious to help Dr. de Vreese in this task but unfortunately being fully absorbed by work in quite different field cannot do myself. I enclose herewith a copy of an extract from his letter asking for explanations of certain difficult passages and words. I have had his queries typed on half margin and should be very grateful for any explanations or notes you could write in Sanskrit against these queries. You may be able to secure some young Sanskrit student to write down in your place whatever explanations you can give. For this help, I should be very grateful. Dr. Vreese would be very glad also for any information which can be given to him as regards certain old Kashmir festivals mentioned in the *Nilamata*. These are stated in a portion of his letter of which I enclose



a copy. You will understand how difficult it must be for a European scholar to learn about these rites, also how great the risk is now-a-days of such old festivals and other ceremonies being lost for good under the sad changes that are taking place in this country. Any information which you may be able to collect for Dr. de Vreese will be preserved through his work for posterity. It will be a *Punya* for yourself. I am sorry to say that I cannot promise any material reward for the requested help. Dr. de Vreese as a teacher in a high school is not too well paid and I myself have many other obligations to meet. But for the help of amanuensis who will write from your dictation, I shall be glad to offer a modest reward. There is one more request. In the preface to the Lahore edition of the *Nilamata* it is stated that there are two manuscripts of *Nilamata* which were written before Pandit Sahibram prepared his text and which do not contain the blanks of the old *Sharada* copies. One of these manuscripts is said to be the property of Pandit Srikantha Rajanaka and the other of Pandit Ram Chand Kak. Could you kindly find out whether these two manuscripts can be lent to Dr. de Vreese. I should be prepared to guarantee that they will faithfully be returned. But I am sorry I am too busy to write myself and inquire about these manuscripts. I am sure you will be ready to render this service to *Sharada Devi* in the same way as you used to do when answering queries of Sir George Grierson".

It was a reminder to Stein of his own satisfaction to what Govind Kaul had done for him in his editions of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. He now saw in Nityanand a Govind Kaul for Vreese lending him a similar assistance in latter's edition of *Nilamatapurana*. Even though Wilson's view regarding *Puranas* as pious frauds was refuted long ago by the researches of Pargiter who had recognized them as popular encyclopedia of ancient and medieval Hinduism, by editing the local *purana* of Kashmir, Vreese ushered a new awakening for the text of Kashmiri origin. The edition



of *Nilamatapurana* was important not only for verifying the names of kings and kingdoms but also for getting an insight into entire life of the people of Kashmir. All phases and aspects of Kashmir's ancient culture, its religion and philosophy, its mythology and ethics, its theism and pantheism, its fasts and feasts, its rites and ceremonies and superstition. All reflected in it. If the *Rajatarangini* was important from the point of view of political history of ancient Kashmir, the *Nilamata* was important for its cultural history.

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## Epilogue

It was destined by Providence that Sir William Jones should plant the tree of modern indological investigation in India. However it was almost a century later when Professor Georg Buhler visited Kashmir in 1875 in search of Sanskrit manuscripts that indological studies may be properly said to have been born in Kashmir. Since then that tree, like the sacred *aksaya-vata*, spread its branches far and wide in the entire intellectual life of Kashmir and can rightly be looked upon with great reverence by all devotees of *Sarasvati*. Needless to emphasize that it was Georg Buhler who thus introduced to European scholars the vast treasures of Kashmiri and Sanskrit language and literature. The tradition to explore and study the vast treasures of this literary blaze which he initiated gloriously helped the cause of systematic indological research in Kashmir and thereafter continued for next sixty three years till 1938. A son of West, Georg Buhler dived deep into the orient lore of Kashmir and attracted the respectful attention of the world to Kashmir's culture and learning.

It was, however, left to Aurel Stein, one of those high minded western scholars, who keenly appreciated Kashmir's cultural greatness and literary traditions at a time when few were aware of it. His incessant labours on Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and for the promotion of study of Kashmiri language and literature have immortalised him before the civilised world. The relation of such a soul will compensate for some unhappy relations between Europe and India in political and commercial spheres. These will be forgotten by the future while the services of men like Aurel Stein to unearth the cultural and literary legacy of Kashmir will ever be remembered by posterity.





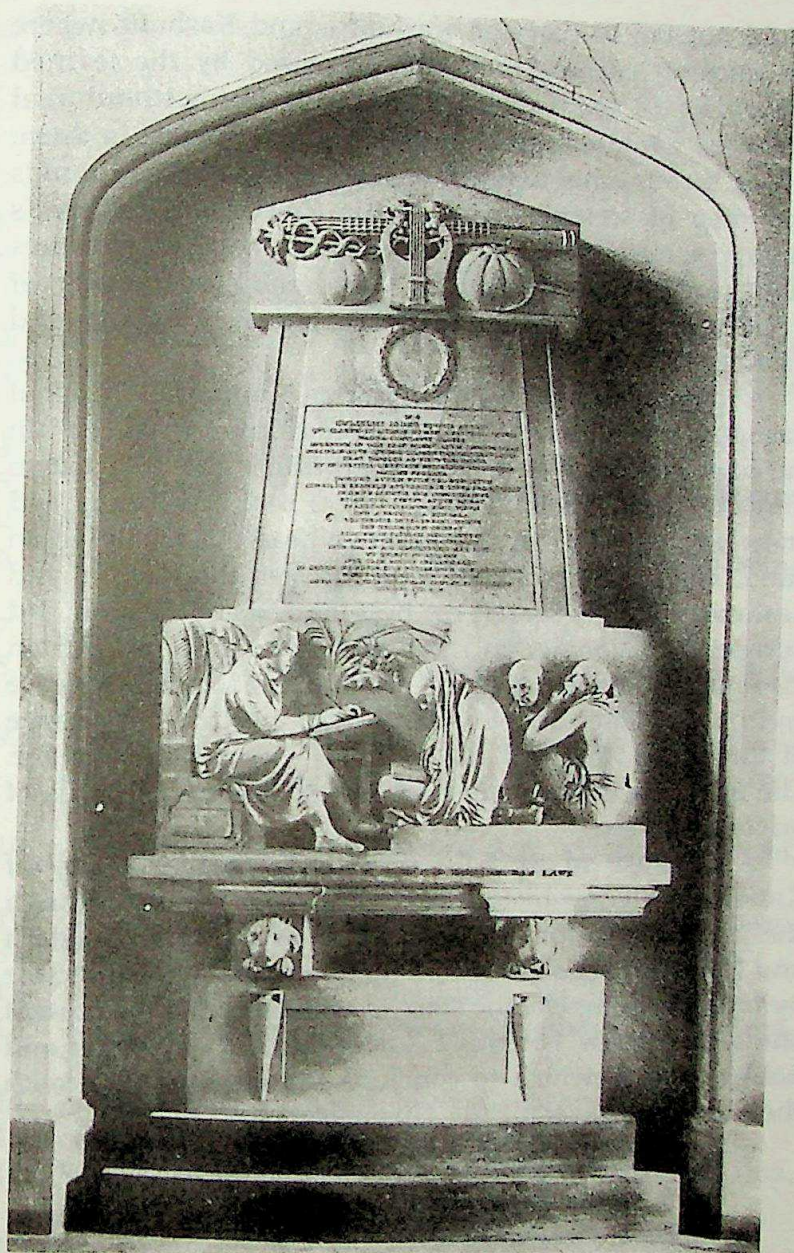
Sir Marc Aurel Stein

He was the first among the Europeans to understand the ethos of Kashmiri culture and recognize the value of its contribution to the history of world culture. He showed that in the higher reaches of human spirit, there is neither East nor West, that humanity is one, beneath the trappings of custom and skin, that in a sense, in quest of learning and knowledge, man is classless, nationless king over himself.

This great European *savant* who dedicated his life to the task of exploring the inner essence and beauty of Sanskrit literature in Kashmir and will ever be remembered with gratitude by generations of scholars all over the world and particularly by Kashmiris for ensuring their motherland a glorious and permanent place in the estimation of the world. It was on account of his first-hand knowledge of Kashmiri scholarship that even after when he himself moved to another field of oriental study i.e. the Central Asian explorations he became the lone European scholar to whom almost all other Western indologists and Indophiles referred the matter of their inquiries for seeking local help of Kashmiri scholars. Such names included Grierson, Winternitz, Vogel, Vreese and Edgerton, amongst others.

In the long literary history of modern Kashmir there is no name which appeals more strongly than Stein. It was his judgement about the Kashmiri scholars that Mukandram, Govind Kaul, Sahaz Bhat, Nityanand and others were to collaborate with their European counterparts on vast literature of Sanskrit and Kashmiri texts. His keen interest in Kashmir and Kashmir's past which he created





*Photograph of the Memorial to Sir William Jones  
in University College, Oxford.*



could not fail to react on Kashmiris and Kashmir, where the ancient learning was still preserved by the learned according to the inherited methods but without real progress, while the great masses took no interest in them. It was through his realisation that highly civilised minds and men of letters outside India looked on Kashmir's literary achievements as important to them, as treasures that should be enjoyed by the world and a relationship of collaboration was thus established between Western and Kashmiri scholars.

And here the recognition of Europe's appreciation about Kashmiri scholarship not only strengthened their faith in the high standard of Kashmiri erudition but also led to conviction that Kashmir was a great seat of learning and knowledge and formed the fountain head of ancient Indian mind. The fruitful collaboration between the Western and Kashmiri scholars served the best interests of Kashmir and Europe. This contact and mutual respect also marked on the one hand an event of the promotion of universal peace and on the other of the understanding of the importance of the preservation of the cultural treasures of Kashmir. The interface thus established one of the finest records of oriental history.

And those of us who may make further study of Kashmir's literary history can redeem our *pitṛ-ṛna* through the performance of the *vanmāya śraddha* to both Western and Kashmiri scholars who dotted with glory the interface by trying to complete the story of omissions that the present study may show. For this I cannot think of any better and nobler way in which to conclude the message than with the sublime prayer of the Upanishad

*Om Saha navavatu. Saha nau bhunaktu.*

*Sah viryam karavavahai.*

*Tejasvi navadhitamastu.*

*Ma vidvisavahai.*

*Om santih, santih, santih.*



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Born in the sixth decade of last century, a career banker turned researcher, S.N. Pandita is grandson of Professor Nityanand Shastri whom Sir Aurel Stein referred as the "Crest Jewel amongst the scholars of Kashmir". S.N. Pandita, with his pioneering research work in the field of history of scholarship in Kashmir during the late 19th and 20th centuries under the Dogra rule has introduced a new subject in Kashmir studies.

A young researcher and avid writer of articles and papers, S.N. Pandita has attended more than 40 seminars and conferences including 5 national seminars. He has published a large number of papers besides delivering many lectures on topics in his field of specialisation. He is well known in the cultural and literary circles of Kashmir for his deep and first-hand knowledge on Sir Aurel Stein's labours in Kashmir. In recognition of his work he was invited by the University of Pecs, Hungary, to participate in an International Centenary Seminar on Sir Aurel Stein.

S.N. Pandita holds the rare distinction along with Sir Aurel Stein and Dr. M.M. Patkar to have made comprehensive status assessment of one of the largest Sanskrit manuscript storehouses of ancient Indian learning – the Maharaja Ranbir Singh Sanskrit Manuscript Library, Jammu.

Recipient of an International Award given by Shogden Tibetan International Society and Atisha Award by Atisha Trust for excellence in research in the area of cultural heritage, S.N. Pandita is presently engaged in the preparation of 'Index Code List' of Sharada manuscripts of Kashmir lying in various international libraries. His other two works viz. The Sanskritist of Mohand Marg – Life and Labours of Sir Aurel Stein in Kashmir and 'Pentad of Codices', an account of history of five rare manuscripts, are also nearing completion.

Described as 'rare researcher', S.N. Pandita is a Founder Member and Secretary of N.S. Kashmir Research Institute, New Delhi. Besides, he also holds membership of various cultural and academic bodies which includes that of Kashmir Education, Culture and Science Society where he is also a member of the working group on International Research & Library Committee.



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Nityananda Shastri,  
H. B. High School,  
Srinagar



Camp, P.O. Sarnarbal, Kashmir, August 9, 1931.

श्रीमदुपनिषद्ब्रह्मविद्यानन्दमित्रकिलेनगये स्वस्तिकवदत्तदितनिवेदनम्॥

Please forgive if I thank you but briefly at this time in English for your kind letter. I am kept exceedingly busy with work of all sorts and cannot find time to write as I should like.

I wish you had been able to give me better news than that about the serious outbreak in the city. You know that my sympathy is fully with those who have been so wantonly attacked and injured. I know enough of the history of Kashmir to have realized long ago that time as the people apparently are in ordinary times trouble may always arise if there is any sign of weakness about. I hope that now that order has been enforced. I hope it will be maintained with a strong hand and needless fears will cease. The appointment of Raja Hari Kishan Paul as Prime Minister is certainly encouraging. I have known him and his family for a long time as deserving full confidence.

By the time I come down to the valley I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you more than once for a good talk. I may then perhaps be less pressed for time than I am at present.

Yours sincerely  
A. Stein

To  
Pandit Nityanand Sahib,  
Retired Professor,  
Sathoo,  
Srinagar.

Sir,  
I am directed before leaving the territories  
of His Highness the Maharaja, to acknowledge your kind  
letter of welcome.

Yours faithfully,

Lt. Colonel.  
to the Viceroy.